XEROX

Xerox University Microfilms
Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106

WESTERN AMERICANA

THE MACMILLAN COMPANY
NEW YORK · BOSTON · CHICAGO · DALLAS
ATLANTA · SAN FRANCISCO

MACMILLAN & CO., Limited
LONDON · BOMBAY · CALCUTTA
MELBOURNE

THE MACMILLAN CO. OF CANADA, Ltd.
TORONTO

THE JAPANESE PROBLEM IN THE UNITED STATES

AN INVESTIGATION FOR THE COMMISSION ON
RELATIONS WITH JAPAN APPOINTED BY
THE FEDERAL COUNCIL OF THE
CHURCHES OF CHRIST
IN AMERICA

BY

H. A. MILLIS
PROFESSOR OF ECONOMICS UNIVERSITY OF KANSAS

New York
THE MACMILLAN COMPANY
1920

All rights reserved

JV6884
M6

Copyright, 1915,
By THE MACMILLAN COMPANY.

Set up and electrotyped. Published June, 1915.

Norwood Press
J. S. Cushing Co. — Berwick & Smith Co.
Norwood, Mass., U.S.A.

The "Japanese Problem in America" is published for the Commission on Relations with Japan, under the authority of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America.

CHARLES S. MACFARLAND,
General Secretary.

FOREWORD

The Commission on Relations with Japan, appointed by the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America at the request of missionaries in Japan, believing that its most immediate need was that of correct information, engaged the expert services of Professor H. A. Millis of the University of Kansas, to go to the Pacific Coast and make such an investigation as would enable the Commission to proceed with intelligent sympathy in the performance of its task.

At the same time the Federal Council, at the request of the Commission, sent its President, Professor Shailer Mathews, and Rev. Sidney L. Gulick to Japan, on behalf of the Christian churches of America, for the purpose of expressing our good will and to bring back to us a report from the point of view of the Christian churches and the people of Japan.

The Commission also conveyed a memorial to the President and to the Congress of the United States, as follows:

"The awakening of Asia and her rapid acquisition of important elements of Occidental civilization inaugurates a new era in world-history in which Asia is to play a great and increasingly important rôle. Whether that rôle shall be one of peace, good will and mutual coöperation, or one controlled by increasing suspicion and fear between the East and the West will depend largely on the attitude of the western nations themselves.

"It has seemed to many of our citizens who have become familiar with the questions raised by this more intimate and ever increasing contact with the Orient that the United States might well adopt a more adequate Oriental policy. Therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Commission on Relations with Japan appointed by the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America urge upon Congress and upon the people of the United States the importance of adopting an Oriental policy based upon a just and equitable regard for the interests of all the nations concerned, and to this end suggests that the entire immigration problem be taken up at an early date, providing for comprehensive legislation covering all phases of the question (such as the limitation of immigration and the registration, distribution, employment, education, and naturalization of immigrants) in such a way as to conserve American institutions, to protect American labor from dangerous economic competition, and to promote an intelligent and enduring friendliness among the people of all nations."

In authorizing the publication of this report of Professor Millis the Commission does so for the purpose of placing this information before the churches and the people of the United States for such help as it may render in forming an intelligent opinion. Neither the Commission nor the Federal Council is committed to its matters of detail, but they are convinced of its general value and they believe that it should be available for our people. It is hoped that this report and the report of the Federal Council commissioners to Japan may contribute to an understanding that shall bring the East and the West into a spirit of sympathy and unity in the universal Kingdom of God and assist in placing our international relations upon a just, secure, and abiding moral foundation.

Hamilton Holt, *Chairman.*
Charles R. Brown,
William I. Haven,
Charles R. Henderson,
E. R. Hendrix,
Jeremiah W. Jenks,
Albert G. Lawson,
Frederick Lynch,
Francis J. McConnell,
John R. Mott,
Frank Mason North,
Doremus Scudder,
Robert E. Speer,
George E. Vincent,
Amos P. Wilder,
Commission on Relations with Japan.

Sidney L. Gulick,
Representative of the Commission on
Relations with Japan.

Charles S. Macfarland, *Secretary.*

PREFACE

ALTHOUGH for more than six years there has been effective restriction of the immigration of Japanese laborers into the United States, various measures have been under consideration to replace the agreement through which this restriction has been effected. Some of the measures would be more, others less, restrictive than the existing agreement. Their consideration shows that the immigration question has not been settled in a manner satisfactory to all. At the same time, much discriminatory legislation bearing upon the life and activities of the Japanese, and possibly other Asiatics, in this country has been proposed and some of it enacted into law. The most important measure thus far enacted is the alien land law of California. Still other discriminatory measures are now being urged, while outside of the legislative field there has been and still is much in the relations between the races that is unsatisfactory.

The Japanese Problem, it is evident, involves two questions, one relating to the admission of immigrants, the other to the treatment accorded those who are here. In the chapters which follow the writer has attempted to present in a frank and conscientious way the more important things bearing upon both of these questions. It has been his plan to bring together historic and present-day facts so that all essential to drawing conclusions with reference to proper policy shall receive due recognition.

In order that this survey of the situation in the West might be written, several weeks were spent in making personal investigations. Most of the time available for the investigation was spent in California, which has been the storm center in matters connected with Asiatic immigration, but some days were spent in each of the other Coast states and in Utah and Colorado. I observed as much as possible, conferred with numerous representative men of different classes, and obtained as much statistical and other data as I could. I was fortunate in the fact that I was acquainted with many representative men and had first-hand knowledge of immigration and industries in the West by reason of my employment as agent in charge of the investigations made five years ago by the Immigration Commission in the Rocky Mountain and Pacific Coast states. My task was less difficult than it would have been because it involved chiefly bringing the things investigated and reported on to the government down to date. Inasmuch as my knowledge of the earlier situation was incorporated in three volumes of the reports published* by the Immigration Commission, these volumes have been extensively quoted in these chapters.

I know that there is still much for me to learn about different phases of the Japanese problem here discussed. I know, also, that in spite of the pains I have taken to avoid it, I cannot hope to have escaped falling into error here and there. If only I have succeeded in making a slight contribution to the knowledge of fact required for the solution of the problem, I shall regard my time as having been well spent.

In closing, I wish to express my obligation for time and effort given by many persons who have materially assisted in making these chapters possible. It is impossible to name all of them. I wish, however, to acknowledge my great indebtedness to Dr. H. H. Guy, the consular officers of the Japanese government in San Francisco, Portland, and Seattle, and the secretaries and other officers of the Japanese associations in these and numerous other cities. Finally, I wish to express my appreciation of aid extended by the Commission on Relations with Japan of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America.

H. A. MILLIS.

December 15, 1914.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PAGE

Chapter I. The Immigration of Japanese to the United States.

The immigration of Japanese before and since 1885. The number larger after 1898. The classes from which the immigrants were drawn. Though the student element large, the primary motive economic gain. The influence of emigration and supply companies and boarding houses. The Hawaiian Islands served as a stepping-stone. The movement from Canada and Mexico. Opposition to Japanese immigration. Immigration greatly restricted by the agreement relative to passports and the President's order of March 14, 1907. The agreement faithfully observed by Japan. It and the President's order have given effective restriction. Admissions and departures since 1908, and effect on the labor supply. The large influx of women, many of them "picture brides." A new factor of growth in the American-born. An estimate of the Japanese population of the Western states. The Japanese as an element in the population of California, and in the labor supply. Their occupational distribution . . . 1

Chapter II. The Japanese as Wage Earners in Industrial Pursuits.

Most of the Japanese first employed as unskilled laborers in a narrow range of occupations. A review of their employment on the railways, in the lumber mills, and in the salmon canneries. With a strong demand for labor, many Japanese were employed on the railways. Found favor because of lower wages accepted, convenient organization, efficiency.

and good behavior in camp. Even before restriction their wages tended to rise relatively to those paid others. With restriction underpayment has ceased. A considerable number have advanced to supervisory positions. In the railway shops the Japanese have made considerable occupational advance, and with restriction of immigration the former general underpayment has rapidly disappeared. The Japanese found employment in a limited number of lumber mills in the Northwest, where they were formerly employed at lower wages than were paid to others, including the East Indians. Since 1907 their number has decreased, underpayment has tended to disappear, and they have advanced somewhat in the occupational scale. The Japanese formerly occupied a conspicuous place in the salmon canneries, but, unlike the railway companies and the managers of the lumber mills, the salmon packers have not found them to be as satisfactory as other laborers. A summary statement of important facts relating to the employment of Japanese in industry previous to 1909. Subsequent changes 20

CHAPTER III. THE JAPANESE IN WESTERN CITIES: THEIR WORK AND BUSINESS.

The formation of an urban population. Two groups of economic activities. Employment in factories and workshops, domestic service, and in miscellaneous occupations. Have "filled in" as cheap laborers conveniently secured. Japanese business for Japanese patrons. Increasing number of establishments, some of them for "American trade." The laundry trade, the restaurant trade, and the provision and grocery stores show the plane of competition. Serious competition limited to a few cases. Population changes and the formation of colonies. Few whites employed by Japanese; the "[illegible]" system prevails. Housing conditions. Changes since 1909. Business in Los Angeles. Gain in American trade, but more trading by Japanese at American stores. Improvement in standards, increase in wages, less underbidding, changing opinion. Opposition in Seattle. The plane of competition and opposition 30

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PAGE

CHAPTER IV. THE JAPANESE IN AGRICULTURE IN WESTERN STATES OTHER THAN CALIFORNIA.

The large proportion of Japanese in agricultural pursuits explained. Agricultural activities in Idaho, Utah, and Colorado. Observations in northern Colorado. Japanese as farm laborers and tenant farmers in Washington. Character of the farming, rents, labor, etc. The situation in Oregon. Farm statistics, crops, reclamation of "wild lands," rent prices, community opinion, etc. 79

CHAPTER V. THE JAPANESE AS AGRICULTURAL LABORERS IN CALIFORNIA.

The Japanese in agriculture in California. Investigations of farm labor by the State Commissioner of Labor and the Immigration Commission. The Japanese and intensive farming. Occupations. Important questions. The Immigration Commission quoted at length with reference to history of employment of Japanese, underbidding, organization, and adaptation to labor needs. Wage data. Competition formerly not on equal terms. Japanese labor, the community's interests, and agricultural expansion. The real problem. Recent developments not significant. The present labor situation. Commissioner MacKenzie's conclusion and the Senate's adverse resolution. Conclusions of the writer's and farmer's opinions. No increase in the bunk-house population desirable, whatever the race 102

CHAPTER VI. JAPANESE FARMING IN CALIFORNIA.

The number and acreage of Japanese farms. Crops grown. Size of farms. Progress of Japanese as farmers explained by various facts. The effects of Japanese farming . . . 131

CHAPTER VII. JAPANESE FARMING: SOME COMMUNITY OBSERVATIONS.

FLORIN — The Florin district and the place occupied by Japanese twenty-five years ago and the development of a new Florin. Progress and present position of the Japanese as farmers. Community effects. Japanese standards. Business relations. Community opinion. Social considerations.

THE VACA VALLEY — Fruit-growing and the Japanese. Some labor history. Leasing by Japanese. Character of the tenure. Community effects. Changes since 1908. Relations between the races.

SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA — The Japanese population and the position occupied. Japanese farmers in Los Angeles county and their competition with other growers. Tenancy explained. Some typical localities where tenant farming is found. Other localities. General impressions. Anti-Japanese feeling not strong.

LIVINGSTON — An exceptional community. Personal observations 152

CHAPTER VIII. ALIEN LAND LEGISLATION IN CALIFORNIA.

The alien land law of 1913 the outcome of a long struggle. Preëlection promises. Legislative history, organized lobbying, and organized opposition to any legislation. Provisions of the law enacted and of the treaty with Japan. Protests from the Japanese government. The law unjust, impolitic, and unnecessary. No real problem calling for such legislation. Nevertheless the great majority of Californians favor the law. The present movement to prohibit the leasing of agricultural lands 197

CHAPTER IX. JAPANESE CHARACTERISTICS AND THE WESTERN MIND.

Widespread opposition to the Japanese. Why? They have much merit in education, eagerness to learn English, sobriety, observance of law, etc. They are, however, a colored race; are racially different; have inherited the prejudice against the Chinese; have given rise to economic conflict; are accused of frequent breaches of contract, and of being ambitious, "cocky," and clannish. The attitude of the Japanese government and Japanese organizations. Agitation. The questions of assimilation and amalgamation . . 227

CHAPTER X. THE PROBLEM OF ASSIMILATION.

Conflicting views relating to the possibility of assimilating the Japanese. The writer's conclusions. The Japanese sen-

PAGE

sitive to their environment, conform quickly to certain standards—as in dress, furnishings, etc., and make rapid progress in learning English. The children and the schools. What of religion, patriotism, and clannishness? Complete assimilability must remain a disputed question. Will the West give necessary coöperation? Without a restricted immigration, assimilation would not take place. Race mixture pretty much of a "bogie" 251

CHAPTER XI. SOME SUGGESTIONS CONSIDERED.

Two questions raised by the "Japanese Problem," one relating to admission, the other to the treatment accorded those admitted. Conclusions of the Immigration Commission relating to Asiatic immigration. The agreement with Japan effective, but Japanese immigration always under discussion. Exclusion bills and the West. The position of the Japanese government. Dissatisfaction in Japan. American standards should be protected, but exclusion under present circumstances would be illogical and an affront to Japan. Dr. Gulick's plan and a modification of it. Its merits. General restriction of immigration from Europe and Asia needed. Once admitted, equal treatment should be accorded immigrants. The naturalization law discriminates. Amendment to eliminate racial distinctions considered. Any legislation involves risk 276

APPENDIX A. EXTRACTS FROM THE TREATY OF COMMERCE AND NAVIGATION BETWEEN JAPAN AND THE UNITED STATES 313

APPENDIX B. CALIFORNIA'S ALIEN LAND LAW . . . 316

APPENDIX C. A STATEMENT CONCERNING THE STRUGGLE OVER THE ENACTMENT OF THE CALIFORNIA ALIEN LAND LAW 320

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

FACING PAGE
1. Florin when Grapes are being Shipped 170
2. Florin's Basket Factory 170
3. A New "American" Cottage in Florin 171
4. Florin's New Hotel 171
5. A Japanese Building built by Japanese 171
6. The House erected by a White Rancher who recently moved to Florin 172
7. A less Well-to-do White Neighbor's House and "Patch" 172
8. Where Japanese grow Grapes 173
9. Harvesting the Strawberry Crop — a Picker of the "Student Class" 173
10. Developed from Pasture Land by the Japanese Owner . 174
11. Made by the Japanese Owner 174
12. As it was when leased by the Japanese 175
13. The Same Land growing Strawberries Three Months Later 175
14. A Japanese Farm 176
15. The Home of the Largest Japanese Family in the Community 176
16. As developed from "Raw" Land 177
17. One of the Best of the Ranch Houses built by Japanese . 177
18. A Japanese Settlement on a 500-Acre Ranch . . . 188
19. The Same Ranch looking in the Other Direction . . 188
20. A Typical Japanese Settlement near Gardena . . . 189
21. The Old and the New separated by a Wire Fence . . 189
22. A Typical Japanese Tenant's House 190
23. The Carson Ranch — "Hay Land" 190
24. The Same Carson Ranch — irrigated and producing Strawberries 190

THE JAPANESE PROBLEM IN THE UNITED STATES

CHAPTER I

THE IMMIGRATION OF JAPANESE TO THE UNITED STATES

Japanese in the United States.—According to the Census, the Japanese population of the continental United States April 15, 1910, was 72,157. There is good reason to believe, however, that the enumeration was by no means complete and that the true number was several thousand larger than the number recorded. Since 1910, the Japanese population has changed little. In all probability the number of American born has somewhat more than offset the number who have left the country or died.[1] The development, composition, and ter-

---

[1] As is evident from the data presented in this chapter, the writer has been unable to obtain any evidence in support of the statement made (*Hearings of House Committee on Immigration*, February 13, 1914, p. 48) by the Commissioner General of Immigration that the number of Japanese in the United States had doubled in the last six or seven years. The population estimates given in the Japanese-American Yearbook, which in different localities have been found to be fairly accurate, but to exaggerate somewhat, have been as follows:

1910 . . .	91,958
1911 . . .	93,358
1913 . . .	95,483

ritorial distribution of this population should be described first of all, for much of importance relating to the Japanese problem is contained in the details thus brought out.

Early Immigration.—The early history of Japanese immigration to the United States is neither clear nor important.[1] From 1638 to 1868, when the present Imperial Government was organized, emigration from Japan was prohibited. It was not definitely legalized until 1885. But while emigration was still forbidden, a few Japanese sailors and students reached our shores. Moreover, in the *Sacramento Union* and other California papers for 1869 we read of a colony of a few score of Japanese settled as prospective silk growers at Gold Hill, California, where they were received with great favor. The promoter of this colony expected more to follow, but evidently this expectation was not realized because of the failure of the project. In the report of the United States Treasury Department for 1893, it was stated that between 1861 and 1870, 218 Japanese had immigrated to this country. The Census of 1870, however, reported only 55 Japanese as residing in the United States. The corresponding number reported in 1880 was 148,

Checking over the reports of the Japanese associations, entries and departures, the Immigration Commission arrived at an estimate of from 95,000 to 100,000 for 1909. The Japanese-American's estimate was 98,715.

[1] Some of the details relating to the early immigration of Japanese have been presented by Y. Ichihashi in *Japanese Immigration: Its Status in California.*

in 1890, 2,039. These 2,039 Japanese reported as residing in the United States in 1890 is evidence of the larger number of immigrants to this country following upon the legalization of emigration by Japan in 1885, and the enactment of the Chinese exclusion law in 1882, which, before 1890, had begun to effect a decrease in the number of Mongolian laborers, to cause a dearth of farm hands, and to cause a rise in the wages of common laborers in California. The Immigration Commission presented the following table based upon the reports of the Commissioner General of Immigration, to show the immigration of Japanese, except from our insular possessions, beginning with the fiscal year 1892–93:[1]

Year Ending June 30—	Number	Year Ending June 30—	Number
1893	1,380	1902	5,325
1894	1,931	1903	6,990
1895	1,150	1904	7,772
1896	1,110	1905	4,319
1897	1,526	1906	5,178
1898	2,230	1907	9,948
1899	3,395	1908	7,250
1900	12,626	1909	1,593
1901	4,908	1910	1,552

Increase in Immigration after 1898.—From this table it is seen that numbers grew slowly. Not as many as two thousand Japanese arrived in any one year until 1898. In 1900, 12,626 were admitted, but this unusual number is explained largely by the diversion of Japanese from Honolulu to the Pacific ports. At no time since has the direct immigration from Japan been so large. During the six years 1901 to 1906, the total number immigrating directly was 34,491. For some years, however, this direct immigration was greatly augmented by an unfortunate indirect immigration by way of the Hawaiian Islands. A large number of Japanese, who had gone there to work on the sugar plantations, came to the mainland seeking higher wages or better opportunities to establish their independence of the wage relation, than were offered in the Islands. Still others, when the Japanese government discouraged emigration to the continental United States, emigrated to Hawaii as a stepping-stone to the Pacific Coast. Thus as against 39,531 admitted directly from Japan during the years 1902 to 1907, some 32,855 are reported to have sailed from Honolulu for the mainland.[1] Since 1907 great restrictions have been placed upon direct immigration from Japan, while immigration indirectly from our insular possessions and our neighboring countries has been prohibited. The history of this most recent period may, however, be reviewed to better advantage presently.

---

[1] Immigration Commission, Reports, Vol. 23, p. 5.

---

[1] The number of Japanese leaving Honolulu for the Orient and for the Pacific Coast are reported by the Territorial Board of Immigration and the United States Commissioner of Labor (in Bulletins 66 and 94). The total number reported as going to the Pacific Coast was 35,634, but 2,779 of them, in 1907–08, immigrated to Canada. See Report of W. L. MacKenzie King, Royal Commissioner appointed to inquire into the methods by which Orientals have been induced to come to Canada. The more important parts of this report are found quoted in Reports of the U. S. Immigration Commission, Vol. 40, pp. 66–71. With reference to this movement, see, also, Reports of Immigration Commission, Vol. 23, p. 6.

Character of the Immigration. — Most of the Japanese who came directly to this country were young men. They came seeking opportunities to study, or better opportunities to gain a livelihood than were in prospect at home. They were of course drawn largely from the most intelligent and ambitious of the middle class. Along with these young men came a smaller number of older men who had failed in business or had found farming or wage labor in Japan unattractive. A third element came from Hawaii, where a large percentage of the total number had been drawn from the poorest and most ignorant class. Many of the most ambitious of these, dissatisfied with their lot as poorly paid plantation laborers, availed themselves of the opportunity to come to the mainland. From Mexico came some corresponding closely to the classes arriving from Hawaii, from Canada a few like those immigrating from Japan.

Age of Immigrants. — Combining 11,585 of these diverse elements, the Immigration Commission found that almost twenty-three in each hundred (22.6 per cent) had come to the United States when under twenty years of age, and that more than one half (53.2 per cent) had come when under twenty-five. On the other hand, only about twenty-five in each 100 (24.7 per cent) were thirty or upward, and less than five in each one hundred (4.2 per cent) forty or over.[1]

---

[1] Immigration Commission, Reports, Vol. 23, pp. 7-8.

Occupations in Japan. — Perhaps three fifths, or even more, of these immigrants were of the agricultural class. Those from the cities were in a decided minority. This is shown by the occupations of Japanese aliens arrived at the ports of the United States (including Hawaii) and Canada, as reported by the Commissioner General of Immigration. The Immigration Commission presented the data bearing upon the matter in the following table:[1]

Year	Total Number	Professional	Merchants, Clerks, and Salesmen	Farmers	Farm Laborers	Skilled Laborers	Laborers	Personal and Domestic Servants	Other Occupations	Without Occupation
1901	5,249	167	660	877	1,153	603	890	181	172	385
1902	14,455	222	1,211	5,219	451	1,047	1,558	173	792	4,288
1903	20,041	274	1,445	5,010	5,816	922	572	132	588	5,282
1904	14,382	372	1,189	121	6,775	641	1,474	317	248	3,244
1905	11,021	282	791	380	5,803	358	743	207	167	2,212
1906	14,243	196	649	522	8,425	379	835	195	367	2,446
1907	30,824	610	763	817	20,636	546	1,334	166	2,174	3,855
1908	16,418	378	687	378	6,766	457	1,144	184	1,740	3,680
1909	2,873	139	106	15	646	85	200	67	266	1,763
Total	129,908	2,699	7,529	13,332	56,542	4,938	8,690	1,722	6,129	28,359
Percentage	100	2.1	5.8	10.3	43.5	3.8	6.7	1.3	4.7	21.8

In the report of the Commission this table is commented upon as follows:

---

[1] Immigration Commission, Reports, Vol. 23, p. 8.

"Thus, according to these data, 10.3 per cent of the immigrants for the nine years had been farmers in Japan, while 43.5 per cent had been 'farm laborers' most of whom were youths or young men working on their fathers' farms without wages, for farm laborers working regularly for wages have been relatively few. Moreover, 21.8 per cent, including women and children, had not been gainfully occupied. A large percentage of these were the wives and small children of farmers and farm laborers and should be added to the percentages given above in order to obtain an estimate of the relative number of the farming class emigrating from Japan. As opposed to the 53.8 per cent who had been gainfully employed in agricultural pursuits, 2.1 per cent were professional men (physicians, teachers, preachers, actors, etc.), 5.8 per cent were merchants, grocers, and bankers, 3.8 per cent skilled laborers in a great variety of trades, 6.7 per cent common laborers, 1.3 per cent had been occupied in the various branches of domestic and personal service, and 4.7 per cent in other occupations of which fishing was no doubt one of the more important. Thus, the majority of the Japanese immigrants have been drawn from the rural sections of the country. Yet many classes have found large representation among those who have come to the United States."

Reasons for Immigration. — The reasons for Japanese immigration to the United States should be considered in close connection with the facts just presented.

While it is true that the "student" element among the Japanese has been a conspicuous one, the primary motive for emigration with this as well as with most other races, has always been economic. Japanese have not left their home land to avoid religious or political persecution.

Lack of opportunity in Japan. — Economic opportunity in Japan has been limited as compared to that in the United States.[1] Japan is a country with a dense and rapidly increasing population, with limited natural resources and a scarcity of capital. Not far from three fifths of the population gainfully occupied are engaged in tilling small plots of land, frequently as tenants paying high rents, or in agricultural labor at wages very low as compared to those earned in unskilled labor in this country. The more ambitious have tended strongly to leave the rural communities to seek better opportunities in the cities or in other countries. In the cities, however, in spite of long hours of labor, wages are still low. Consequently emigration has appealed to many of the more ambitious as the solution of their problem of limited opportunity. The western part of the United States has naturally appealed to them most strongly as the land of opportunity.

Emigration Cumulative. — Emigration is likely to prove cumulative. So was it in the case of the Japanese, for one reason because of the widespread advertising of the advantages to be had by emigrating to the United States. Of more importance than this, however, was the fact that the emigration business became an organized one. Emigration companies were organized in increasing number to handle the business, while on this side contractors, supply companies, and boarding houses made the way easy and readily secured employment for those who came. The wonder is that more did not immigrate to the United States. That more did not is explained partly by the action of the Japanese government in discouraging direct emigration to this country.

---

[1] With reference to the things here briefly stated, see Immigration Commission, Reports, Vol. 23, pp. 9–13, for statistical and other detail.

Immigration from Hawaii. — This relates particularly to the voluntary movement directly from Japan to the United States previous to 1907. As has been indicated, however, a large part of the immigration for some years was of Japanese who had become dissatisfied with their lot in the Hawaiian Islands, where by 1900, partly as a result of the importation of contract laborers, partly as a result of voluntary immigration of laborers to work on the sugar plantations, they numbered 61,111 in a total population of 154,001. Not only did many, with good reason, become dissatisfied with plantation conditions; many after the annexation of the Islands went there as a stepping-stone to the mainland because as early as 1900 the Japanese government had begun to discourage emigration to the continental United States. Nor was the remigration of these laborers entirely normal and uninduced. As the report of the Immigration Commission succinctly puts it:

"With the strong demand for labor prevailing in the West the Japanese contractors on the Coast, and especially those doing business in San Francisco and Seattle, induced many to come to the United States. Some of these contractors were for a time regularly represented by agents sent to Honolulu, recourse was made to advertising in the Japanese papers published there, cheap rates were secured, and in some instances assistance was given in other ways to those desiring to reach the mainland."[1]

Immigration through Canada and Mexico. — It must be pointed out, also, that the movement thus far dealt with was accompanied by a considerable unrecorded immigration of Japanese across the Canadian and Mexican boundaries. While the number thus coming from Canada would appear not to have been large, that coming across the Mexican boundary was sufficient to give rise to discussion by Inspector Braun, who was detailed in 1906 and 1907 by the Bureau of Immigration to investigate the influx of immigrants of different races from or through Mexico.

"With reference to the Japanese he reported that within two years more than 10,000 had been imported into Mexico as contract laborers, being sent out by the various emigration companies, but that most of them had left their employment, and that the entire number in the Republic at that time (June, 1907) was only about 1,000. Inasmuch as they had not left the country through the ports, it was concluded that they had immigrated to the United States, lawfully previous to the issue of the President's order of March 14, 1907, surreptitiously ever since."[1]

---

[1] Immigration Commission, Reports, Vol. 23, p. 14. See also report by King as Royal Commissioner, cited above, and Third Report of the Commissioner of Labor on Hawaii.

Thus dissatisfaction with conditions in Mexico and the discouragement of emigration to the United States gave rise to a movement into and out of Mexico — across our boundary — much smaller but not unlike that from the Hawaiian Islands.

Officially Immigration of Laborers ended in 1907. — Officially the immigration of those occupied as laborers in Japan came practically to an end in 1907, when the President issued an order refusing admission to "Japanese and Korean laborers, skilled or unskilled, who have received passports to go to Mexico, Canada, or Hawaii, and come therefrom," and, under pressure, the Japanese government agreed to discontinue the issuing of passports to certain classes of its subjects who might desire to emigrate to the continental United States. This order and the agreement developed out of very strained relations incidental to continued opposition to and discrimination against the Japanese, especially in California.

Opposition to Immigration. — The first strong note of opposition to the immigration of Japanese laborers came from a mass meeting held at San Francisco in 1900, to consider the reënactment of the Chinese exclusion law, soon to expire by reason of limitation to a period of years. Before this, however, there had been some evidence of dissatisfaction with the existing situation. The State Labor Commissioner had recently made an investigation of the employment of Japanese in California, and in this connection adverse criticisms, such as had been made of the Chinese, were made of the new race. Moreover, Mr. Rice had been detailed by the Immigration Bureau to investigate charges of violations of the contract labor law in connection with Japanese immigration. His report[1] described the connection between the emigration companies and the increasing number of immigrants. It also stated as a fact that twelve of these companies at that time had their representatives in the United States.

---

[1] Immigration Commission, Reports, Vol. 23, p. 15.

"It was in 1900, when an unusually large number arrived, however, that the first organized demand was made for the exclusion of the Japanese. At a mass meeting called in San Francisco, May 7 of that year, not only was a resolution adopted urging Congress to reënact the Chinese exclusion law, but it was further resolved to urge the adoption of an act of Congress or such other measures as might be necessary for the total exclusion of all classes of Japanese other than members of the diplomatic staff."[2]

Following this came the first of the anti-Japanese messages emanating from the governor's office at Sacramento and resolutions from the state legislature calling upon Congress to extend the

---

[1] See House Doc. No. 686, 56th Congress, 1st Session.

[2] Immigration Commission, Reports, Vol. 23, p. 167.

Chinese exclusion law to other Asiatics. Yet little interest in the matter was taken by the people at large in California until the *San Francisco Chronicle* — for what reasons need not trouble us here — conducted a very successful campaign against the Japanese. This was in the spring of 1905 when a large number were coming to the mainland from Honolulu and greatly augmenting the number of arrivals. The enlarged stream emptied itself in San Francisco, where it was made conspicuously evident by all the circumstances connected with disembarkation, boarding and lodging, and subsequent employment. Organization of the Asiatic Exclusion League followed in May, this being, in a sense, ready made of the trade unions which had always been in the thick of the fight against Chinese immigration.

The San Francisco School Order. — It happened that the same elements at this time dominated in the Exclusion League and the municipal government of San Francisco. On May 6, 1905, the Board of Education passed a resolution declaring its determination to effect the establishment of separate schools for Chinese and Japanese pupils, but no further action was taken until after the great fire of the following year, when a "separate school order" was passed.[1] This required the transfer of most of the Japanese pupils who had enrolled in a number of public schools as a result of the scattering of the population by the fire, to the Oriental School, located in the center of the city, far removed from the homes of most of the pupils and almost inaccessible under the circumstances. The promulgation of this order at this time was no doubt connected with the fact that, partly for reasons other than the activity of the Exclusion League, a strong opposition to the Japanese had grown up. They had come to occupy a conspicuous position in some of the petty businesses of the city, and especially in the restaurant trade. At just this time these restaurants were being boycotted by the Cooks' and Waiters' Union and incidental to the prosecution of the boycott not a little violence was being practiced.

---

[1] The need for this action was, as so often happens, popularly over-estimated. The total number of Japanese children in the twenty-three schools of the city was only ninety-three; of whom nine were sixteen years old, twelve were seventeen, six were eighteen, four were nineteen, and two were twenty. The remainder were all under sixteen years of age. *Cf.* Secretary Metcalf's report to President Wilson.

School *Question* becomes an International Issue.—Against this state of affairs the Japanese protested strongly, and, as usual, to the Japanese government. The "school question" became an international issue. An investigation by the federal government and a conference between President Roosevelt and local officials of San Francisco followed. By force of circumstances the Japanese government agreed to restrict the issuing of passports to laborers who wished to emigrate, and an immigration bill, then in conference committee, was changed so as to authorize the President to suspend the immigration of Japanese and Korean laborers from our insular possessions and from Canada and Mexico. This authority was employed by the President in his famous order of March 14, 1907, refusing admission to the continental United States to "Japanese or Korean laborers, skilled or unskilled, who have received passports to go to Mexico, Canada, or Hawaii and come therefrom."

The Agreement with Japan.—The agreement with Japan, in effect since 1907, contemplates "that the Japanese government shall issue passports to the continental United States only to such of its subjects as are non-laborers or are laborers who, in coming to the continent, seek to resume a formerly acquired domicile, to join a parent, wife, or children residing here, or to assume active control of an already possessed interest in a farming enterprise in this country." Accordingly the classes of laborers entitled to receive passports have come to be designated "former residents," "parents, wives, or children of residents," and "settled agriculturists."[1] After the promulgation of the President's order of March 14, 1907, the provisions of this agreement were applied in the granting of passports to Hawaii as well as to the mainland.

The Japanese Government has acted in Good Faith.—Though slow progress was made in carrying this agreement into effect and "the system did not begin to work smoothly in all its details until the last month of the fiscal year,"[2] 1907–08, the agreement has given and still gives an effective method of restricting the immigration of Japanese and Korean laborers to the United States. The good faith of the Japanese government in the granting of passports cannot be reasonably questioned. Indeed, its administration has been rather severe in its details. Students find great difficulty in securing passports and must establish their ability to pay their way through college without manual labor, before their applications are favorably acted upon. Moreover, the Japanese government has placed great restrictions upon emigration to Mexico and Canada. These restrictions had as one motive the fear that these countries might be used as stepping-stones to the United States. In this way the "problem of the border" has been reduced to small proportions as compared to those which would have obtained in the absence of coöperation on the part of the Japanese government.[1]

---

[1] Annual Report of the Commissioner General of Immigration for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1908, pp. 125–126.

[2] Report of the Commissioner General of Immigration, 1908, p. 126.

The Agreement Effective. — When employed by the recent Immigration Commission, the writer caused the investigation of Japanese immigrants to take such form as to secure evidence bearing upon the observance of the agreement. No facts indicating anything other than its faithful observance were obtained. The results of the investigation conducted by the California Commissioner of Labor, Mr. MacKenzie, were the same. Though it may be that the will of the two governments is sometimes thwarted, as a restrictive measure, the

---

[1] The number of passports issued by the Japanese government to its subjects wishing to emigrate to Mexico have been as follows:

1907	3945	1909	13	1911	60	1913	106
1908	18	1910	37	1912	74		

The number of Japanese admitted into Canada in recent years have been as follows: 1911, 727; 1912, 675; 1913, 886.

agreement has been very successful.[1] More than once have those in charge of the administration of the immigration laws commented upon the greater effectiveness of the regulations relating to the admission of Japanese than of the Chinese exclusion law.[2]

---

[1] Thus the Commissioner of Immigration, Seattle, in charge of district No. 16, comprising the state of Washington, in his report for 1913, writes of deserting seamen as follows (Report of Commissioner General of Immigration, 1913, p. 228): "Aside from Japanese laborers, I do not believe that there are many aliens of the inadmissible classes accomplishing entry through this district under the guise of seamen. Approximately 27 per cent of the alien seamen who left their ships in this district during the past fiscal year were Japanese, and I have no doubt that the greater part, if not all of them, deserted with the intention of remaining in the United States rather than reshipping in the course of their pursuit, as is the custom of seamen of other races."

Though there has been some complaint of unlawful entries across the Mexican border, the supervising inspector in 1913 reported that "immigration of Japanese through this district has been practically negligible." According to Mr. O'Donnell (Hearings House Committee on Immigration, February, 1914, p. 178), however, 96 Japanese entering the United States unlawfully across the Mexican border were apprehended.

[2] The following favorable comment may be quoted from the report of the Commissioner General of Immigration for the year 1909–10, p. 299: "With the lapse of additional time, the effectiveness attending the regulation of Japanese immigration by agreement between the two countries interested becomes more forcibly demonstrated. Japanese applications for admission to Mexican border ports are now confined almost wholly to transits, bona fide residents of Mexico, or domiciled residents of the United States returning, and the few surreptitious entries represent merely the straggling rear guard of the Japanese immigrants who entered Mexico in much larger numbers three or four years ago. The easy effectiveness with which the Japanese coolie labor problem has been met throws into still sharper contrast the cumbersome, ineffective Chinese exclusion law with which our officers are daily struggling in an effort to secure a satisfactory enforcement."

Immigration since the Agreement became Effective. — These various measures taken to control immigration to the continental United States have sharply set off the immigration of the last six years from that of the period ending with 1907. The departures of Japanese males have exceeded the number recorded as admitted. The figures (for both males and females) presented in the reports of the Commissioner General of Immigration are as follows:

YEAR	NUMBER OF JAPANESE ADMITTED	NUMBER OF JAPANESE DEPARTED
1908	9,544	4,796
1909	2,432	5,004
1910	2,598	5,024
1911	4,282	5,869
1912	5,358	5,437
1913	6,771	5,647
Totals 1908–13	30,985	31,777

Effect on Labor Supply. — The effect of these measures upon the supply of migratory labor has been much greater than might be inferred from these figures, for, as we shall see, women have constituted a large percentage of those admitted to but a small percentage of those leaving the country, and the unskilled have been represented in smaller proportions.

Occupations of Immigrants and of those returning to Japan. — The occupations of Japanese admitted and of those who departed from the United States in 1912–13 are recorded by the immigration officers as follows:[1]

Occupation	Number Admitted	Number Departed
Professional	309	259
Skilled	301	257
Miscellaneous:		
Farm laborers	472	227
Farmers	927	1,886
Laborers	542	1,211
Merchants and dealers	483	492
Others	1,053	661
No occupation (chiefly women and children)	2,684	554
Grand totals	6,771	5,647

The number of Japanese admitted to the continental United States in 1912–13 was 6,771. Of these 2,684, — most of them women and children, — or 39.6 per cent, had had no occupation; 309, or 4.6 per cent, were professional men; 301, or 4.4 per cent, were skilled laborers; 3,477, or 51.4 per cent, had engaged in various other occupations. More than one half of the miscellaneous class, it will be noted, were farmers (927), farm laborers (472), laborers (542), and servants (82), the four groups accounting for a total of 2,023. The great majority of these, however, were former residents returning to this country, for 1,175 laborers and 1,659 nonlaborers admitted were merely returning to the United States. In fact, only 232 laborers who were not classed as former residents, were admitted at the ports in 1912–13. Of these 178 were parents, wives, or children of residents, 41 were admitted bearing passports to which they were not, in the opinion of the immigration officers, entitled, while 13 were admitted without proper passports.[1]

---

[1] Report, 1912–13, p. 137.

Many Women find Place in the Labor Supply. — Thus the laborers who formerly were admitted in comparatively large numbers directly from Japan, or indirectly through Hawaii and Mexico, have under the agreement been admitted at the ports only in insignificant numbers. But how many of those who came under the agreement became laborers in this country, of course, no one can say. It is true, however, that the great majority of the wives of farmers, barbers, and small shopkeepers take a more or less regular place in the fields or shops of their husbands, while a smaller number accept places in domestic service, or in laundries or other places of employment. Thus a large percentage of those admitted find a place in the "labor supply."[2]

---

[1] Report of Commissioner General of Immigration, 1912–13, pp. 136–139.

[2] The Commissioner General of Immigration, as well as the disbanded Exclusion League, has complained of this. The Commissioner in commenting in his report for 1912–13 (pp. 21–22) on the large percentage of women and especially "proxy brides" among the Japanese immigrants, writes:

"Many of these were what are known as 'proxy' or 'photograph' brides, *i.e.* women who have been married, under a custom existing and recognized as legal in Japan, to men living in this country whom in many instances they have never seen, the marriage being arranged between the heads of the families of the bride and bridegroom. Of the aliens treated in hospitals for dangerous contagious diseases, mentioned under a previous heading of this

Total Japanese Population changing very Slowly. — In spite of the fact that the number of Japanese men departing from the United States exceeds the number admitted, the total Japanese population is changing very slowly and the number admitted still numbers several thousand per year and recently has shown a tendency to increase. We are experiencing with the Japanese what we have experienced with immigrants from most European countries. A very considerable percentage of them have estab-

report (p. 7), 621 were Japanese females, the majority of whom were 'proxy' or 'photograph' brides. Passports are given these women on the ground that they are coming to continental United States to join a husband, the arrangement with Japan contemplating that where a Japanese laborer is migrating for the purpose of joining a member of his immediate family the passport may be issued. Most of the women, while they do join the husband, are farm laborers and immediately become colaborers with their husbands on the farms where the latter are employed or which they are conducting. As these 'proxy' or 'photograph' marriages would not, of course, be recognized as valid in any of the states of this country, the men to whom these women are going are required to meet them at a seaport and go through a ceremony of marriage legal in the United States. . . . But the bureau feels that two facts growing out of this situation should not be overlooked by those interested in the economic phases of the immigration problem: (1) The practice of furnishing the passport to these women and admitting them on the basis of the passport and a marriage performed at the port opens the way for the introduction into continental United States of large bodies of common laborers — females, it is true, but none the less competitors of the laborers of this country; and (2) this practice must necessarily result in constituting a large native-born Japanese population — persons who, because of their birth on American soil, will be regarded as American citizens, although their parents cannot be naturalized, and who, nevertheless, will be considered (and will probably consider themselves) subjects of the Empire of Japan under the laws of that country, which holds that children born abroad of parents who are Japanese subjects are themselves subjects of the Japanese Empire."

lished themselves in this country and expect to remain indefinitely if not permanently. Most of those who were married before immigrating to this country have either returned to their families in Japan or have brought their wives, and perhaps their children, to this country and established a home. Many of those who immigrated as single men have visited Japan and returned with wives, or, more likely, have secured "picture brides," the regular marriage ceremony being performed under the supervision of the immigration authorities upon the arrival of the bride in this country.[1] The prominence of females among the immigrants in recent years is shown by the following table:[2]

Year	Japanese Males Admitted	Japanese Females Admitted	Japanese Wives Admitted (a)
1909	1,777 (b)	867 (b)	665
1910	1,648 (b)	1,039 (b)	880
1911	2,377	1,905	1,551
1912	2,930	2,428	2,093
1913	4,012	2,759	2,398

(a) Includes "proxy brides" as well as those regularly married in Japan.

(b) Number who applied for admission.

---

[1] The number of "proxy brides" admitted at Seattle in 1912, was 311, in 1913, 517 (Report of Commissioner General of Immigration, 1912–13, p. 229). According to data supplied by the California State Board of Health, the number of marriages of Japanese at San Francisco, in 1912, was 867, in 1913, 670. Nearly all of the women were "proxy brides."

[2] Compiled from the reports of the Commissioner General of Immigration.

Homes Established. Native-born Japanese. — Thus, several hundred or a few thousand females, most of them married women, have been admitted to the United States each year during the last five as against the few hundred at most who came directly from Japan any year previous to 1908. In 1910 the Census (fairly complete for that group) reported 5,582 Japanese married women residing in the United States. The married women admitted during the three years 1911–13 more than doubled the number of Japanese families in the United States, but with a restricted immigration of males, the large influx of women will of course not continue indefinitely. The establishment of homes in this country by a large number of Japanese has been a most important fact. It not only marks the rapid change from migratory labor to a "settled" occupation, or, more likely, to a farm or business life; it has vitally changed for the better the social life of the Japanese. And along with it has come a new factor of importance in the growth of the Japanese population — the American-born children. The number of native-born Japanese reported by the Census of 1910 was 4,413. With the lapse of time and the increase in the number of wives in the country, the number by the close of 1913 had increased perhaps to between 10,000 and 11,000.[1] With about two thirds of the Japanese families, California for the three years 1911–13 recorded

---

[1] The number of native-born Japanese boys, December, 1913, according to the Japanese-American Yearbook, was 5,076; of girls, 5,016 — a total of 10,092.

4,677 Japanese births.[1] For the eight years 1906 to 1913, the number of births reported to the state board of health was 6,688.

This summarizes the chief points relating to the building up of the Japanese population of the United States. This section of the report may be concluded with a summary statement relating to the present population, and its geographical and occupational distribution.

A Rough Estimate of the Number of Japanese in the United States. — The Census of 1910 enumerated 60,757 foreign-born male, 6,986 foreign-born female, and 4,413 native-born Japanese in the United States. As already stated, however, there is reason to believe that the total number exceeded the 72,157 thus recorded. The deficiency believed to be shown is in the number of foreign-born males. According to the best estimates I have been able to obtain, the number of Japanese in the United States at the close of the year 1913 was about 95,000. Of this number, approximately 70,000 were adult males, some 13,000 or 14,000 adult females (most of them married), and about 11,000 children, approximately 90 per cent of whom were native-born.

Geographical Distribution of the Japanese. — The geographical distribution of the Japanese and their importance as a factor in the population of the Western states is shown by the estimates presented in the table on the opposite page. Except as otherwise noted, they are for December, 1913.

---

[1] The figures as reported to the state board of health were 995 for 1911, 1,467 for 1912, and 2,215 for 1913.

States	Adult Male Japanese	Adult Female Japanese	Japanese Children under 16	Total Japanese	Total Population (Estimated)	Probable Percentage of Japanese in Total
Arizona (a)	491	35	17	543	237,000	.23
California (a)	42,089	9,492	8,174	59,755	2,615,000	2.29
Colorado (a)	3,342	159	150	3,651	902,000	.4
Idaho (b, c)	1,117	144	81	1,342	391,000	.34
Montana (e)	1,027	107	62	1,196	396,000	.3
Nevada (a)	630	25	11	666	98,000	.68
New Mexico (a)	508	30	19	557	380,000	.14
Oregon (b)	2,762	503	407	3,672	775,000	.47
Utah (d)	2,021 f	89 f	(f)	2,110	412,000	.51
Washington (e)	10,150	2,714	1,920	14,784	1,392,000	1.06
Wyoming (b)	1,581	97	63	1,741	167,000	1.0
Other states (a)	5,162	283	207	5,652		
Totals of above	70,880	13,688	11,111	95,679		

(a) Figures taken from Japanese-American Yearbook.

(b) As ascertained by the Japanese Consul of the Portland District, December, 1913.

(c) A small part of the state included in the Seattle district not included.

(d) As reported in the Census of 1910. There has been little change in the total.

(e) As reported by the secretary of the Japanese Association of the Northwest, Seattle, 1914.

(f) Those under 16 not separately reported.

A Large Proportion in California. — Though the above table is based upon estimates of both the Japanese and total populations and some of the figures may be rather wide of the mark, the table does indicate two things clearly. It indicates in the first place it is likely that in only three states — California, Washington, and Wyoming — do the Japanese constitute more than a fraction of one per cent of the total population. It indicates in the second place, that only the two states, California and Washington, have any considerable number of Japanese. California has not far from three fifths of those in the continental United States, Washington something less than a sixth. The remaining states have only a little less than a quarter of the entire number. This uneven distribution of the Japanese population results from two facts, viz. that most of the Japanese have entered the United States at San Francisco or Seattle, and that there has been a return movement from the Rocky Mountain states to the Coast because of better climatic conditions and better opportunities for business and intensive agriculture found there.

Relative Importance in the Population. — The number of Japanese appears to be insignificant. Yet in some localities this is not so, for the members of this race, as new immigrants are prone to do, have colonized to a very considerable extent so as to avail themselves of their own institutions and of the best opportunities. In other states the situation is not unlike that in California, where the records of the Japanese Association in 1910 gave a few counties and the larger cities the larger part of the total of 55,000. The numbers in each of 35 counties and 8 cities, together with the percentages of the total populations according to Dr. Ichihashi, were as follows:[1]

---

[1] Y. Ichihashi, *Japanese Immigration*, p. 16.

County	No.	Per Cent	County	No.	Per Cent
Los Angeles	11,500	2.2	Kings	500	3.1
San Francisco	6,900	1.6	Butte	400	1.7
Sacramento	6,000	8.0	San Bernardino	400	9.0
Alameda	4,400	1.8	San Diego	400	0.6
San Joaquin	4,300	8.0	Yuba	400	4.1
Santa Clara	3,100	3.9	Imperial	360	2.7
Fresno	3,000	4.0	San Mateo	350	1.3
Yolo	1,900	9.0	Colusa	350	7.0
Contra Costa	1,000	3.3	San Luis Obispo	300	—
Placer	1,000	—	Sutter	300	5.1
Orange	990	2.6	Kern	340	0.5
Santa Barbara	960	3.4	Stanislaus	190	0.8
Sonoma	880	1.8	Tehama	200	1.9
Santa Cruz	860	—	Merced	150	1.2
Monterey	780	—	San Benito	150	—
Tulare	780	2.2	Napa	100	—
Solano	700	2.5	Others	40	—
Ventura	670	3.7			
Riverside	690	—	Total	55,000	2.1

Corresponding figures for eight California cities were as follows:[1]

City	No.	Per Cent	City	No.	Per Cent
Los Angeles	7,938	2.5	San José	790	2.6
San Francisco	6,988	1.6	Alameda	692	3.0
Sacramento	2,452	5.6	Berkeley	686	1.7
Oakland	1,835	1.2	Stockton	495	2.1

Uneven Distribution an Important Fact. — Were it possible to substitute figures for still smaller communities, the uneven distribution could be more truthfully and adequately presented. It is a matter of much significance in connection with different phases of the Japanese problem. In many places the Japanese are not lost in the population. Moreover, when dealing with matters pertaining to labor, it must be held in mind that most of the Japanese are adults and relatively few of the entire number are not gainfully occupied. Industrially the Japanese are a much larger factor in the population than these figures would indicate. In some industries and occupations, indeed, they are a very important factor, for here again those employed are distributed very unevenly among the several occupations and branches of industry.

---

[1] Ichihashi, *Japanese Immigration*, p. 16.

Occupations of the Japanese.—Though it observed that any accurate statement concerning the occupational distribution of Japanese was impossible because of the migration from one locality and one industry to another during the year, the Immigration Commission, in 1909, estimated the number employed in city trades and business in the West at from 22,000 to 26,000, in agriculture as laborers of farmers, when largest, at some 38,000 or 40,000, in railroad work at 10,000, in lumber mills at 2,200, in mines at 2,000, in salmon canneries at 3,600. The number gainfully occupied in other ways was insignificant.[1] Though these figures are for the largest number during the year and overlap somewhat, they show fairly accurately the relative importance of their several branches of employment at that time. While from data at hand it is impossible to give corresponding figures for the present occupational distribution of Japanese, the relative numbers employed in lumber mills, fish canneries, and railroad work, have diminished, those engaged in agriculture have increased considerably, and those in city trades and business slightly.[1]

---

[1] Immigration Commission, Reports, Vol. 23, p. 22. Unfortunately the Census does not report the occupations of Japanese separately.

---

[1] The estimates made by the Japanese-American for 1913 are believed to exaggerate the number in certain employments and the total somewhat, but the occupational distribution of adult males was reported as follows:

Public officials	36
Preachers, priests, teachers	179
Students	1,554
Farmers	8,709
Farm laborers	22,787
Business men	6,227
Employees of same	8,805
Fishermen, etc.	482
Employees in American stores	1,900
Factory hands	1,536
Miners	1,550
Railroad laborers	4,553
Lumber mill laborers	2,086
House workers	8,640
Miscellaneous and unoccupied	2,055
Total	71,999

CHAPTER II

THE JAPANESE AS WAGE EARNERS IN INDUSTRIAL PURSUITS

Present Situation differs from that when Immigration not greatly Restricted. — The occupational distribution of the Japanese, indicated at the close of the preceding chapter, differs materially from that of the time when immigration was at its height and unrestricted. So does almost every other aspect of the situation. If one would secure a proper basis for conclusions as to the problem of Japanese immigration in its broader aspects, he must not only be most careful in the use and interpretation of available statistical data (and the instances of abuse are far more numerous than those of proper use by those who oppose as well as those who defend the Japanese), but be careful also to consider what was true when the volume was larger as well as what is true now when it is smaller and those who are here occupy a somewhat unusual position in the various occupations. That the wages of Japanese averaged as much at some time as those of some groups of workers of other races does not prove that they did not underbid in order to secure employment. That they at times underbid proves nothing with reference to the desirability of a limited or a selected immigration. That the wages of

Japanese are not low now does not prove that they may not have been low under other conditions or that the Japanese are economically desirable. It is only by the most careful and conscientious study that the economic facts involved can be clearly ascertained.

What has Experience Shown? — Most of those who immigrated directly or indirectly to the Pacific Coast previous to 1908 came to begin as wage earners on the lowest rung of the industrial ladder. They came to Japanese boarding houses and from there most of them secured their first employment as section hands on the railway, as agricultural laborers in field and orchard, or as domestic servants and house cleaners in the large cities. Much smaller numbers entered other industrial employments or secured places in shops and stores. What has twenty years' experience in some of the more important branches of activity shown of importance in connection with the problems of Japanese immigration? What does it show as regards the plane of competition, as regards efficiency and ability to rise, and as regards the difference between the period closing with 1907 and that embracing the last six years? Brief statements relating to employment on the railways, in the salmon industry, and in the lumber mills will be found to be distinctly worth the while in answering these questions.

Japanese as Section Hands. — The first Japanese employed as section hands were sent out from Portland, Oregon, about twenty-five years ago. With this as a beginning when the immigration had only really begun, the numbers increased with the increasing volume until in 1906 some 13,000 were employed as common laborers about railroad shops and in maintenance of way. By 1900 they had found employment on nearly all of the railroads of the West. In 1909, largely because of a strong tendency of the members of this race to seek the most remunerative and most agreeable employment, the total number employed by the railroad companies, in spite of an increasing number in the shops, had fallen to about 10,000. At present the number is considerably smaller.

Employed at Lower Wages but usually did not displace Others. — As section hands the Japanese have always been in great demand, except in the Southwest where the cheaper Mexicans have found preferment. The demand was particularly strong after 1898, when enlarging opportunity for employment in city, in mills, and in the mines and smelters caused the laborers who had been employed to drift away from their section work with its relatively low wages, isolation, and hard living conditions. The Japanese were very extensively substituted for other men who had disappeared because of their unwillingness to remain at the stationary or slowly increasing wages. The instances of displacement to introduce Japanese gangs were comparatively few. Yet it is true that in the majority of cases the Japanese when first employed were paid a lower rate per hour than was paid to other section hands, including the immigrant Italians, Greeks, and Slavs. The relatively low wage they accepted was one reason for their preferment, for the selection of races as section hands has turned more upon the rates of wages than upon efficiency. It is likely to be so with large corporations generally when selecting unskilled laborers for employment in large numbers.

Conveniently obtained through "Contractors." — A factor of greater importance than the wages paid is found, however, in the convenience with which the Japanese were secured through "contractors" of their own race. Except for the Greeks, in some instances, most of the laborers in unskilled work had to be secured through ordinary employment agencies which involved much uncertainty and, at times, some expense on the part of the railway company. Not so the Japanese. The arrangements between two railway companies operating in the Northwest and a Japanese supply company with its main office in Seattle were essentially the same as the arrangement between other railway companies and the "contractors" through whom Japanese laborers were secured. In return for the opportunity to provide its men with such supplies as they did not purchase locally and the free transportation of these, the company supplied to the best of its ability these two railroad companies with the number of section men and other laborers needed from time to time. It supplied necessary interpreters and paid off the men. Its remuneration came from the profit on supplies sold and an interpreter's fee of $1 per month and a second fee of five cents per day for each man, these fees, of course, being deducted from the earnings of the men employed.

Efficient Laborers. — This method of securing laborers was the greatest factor in creating an effective demand for Japanese section hands. Thorough organization as well as relatively low rates of wages caused the Japanese to be the most effective competitors for employment. But once employed, another factor entered into the situation. The Japanese found favor with the roadmasters and foremen because of their efficiency, and their good behavior in camp. On the whole they proved to be better workmen than any of the immigrant races, the Mexicans excepted, and the absence of brawls in camp set them in strong contrast to certain other competing races. And so it is found that with the shrewd bargaining ability of the contractor as an active factor, the rate of wages of Japanese advanced more rapidly than that of other races until in some instances the same rate of pay obtained for all races even before the restrictions upon further immigration were imposed in 1907.

With Decreasing Numbers no Underpayment at Present. — In recent years with the scarcity of Japanese laborers and a still greater appreciation of them on the part of the roadmasters, practically all, if not all, underpayment of Japanese maintenance of way men has disappeared. In every instance in which data were recently secured, it was found that Japanese and European immigrants were being paid the same rate — $1.50, or whatever it might be, per day of ten hours. Not only have the Japanese risen to the general wage level; as the most interesting detail observed in my investigations, because of efficiency, ambition, long employment, and trustworthiness, to-day many Japanese are employed as foremen of section and extra gangs — and frequently, perhaps more frequently than not, over Greeks and Italian laborers. The San Pedro, Los Angeles, and Salt Lake has about thirty Japanese foremen; the Oregon, Washington Railroad and Navigation Company, five; the Chicago, Burlington, and Quincy, twenty-five — eleven of them over non-Japanese "gangs," while many are found on the Northern Pacific, the Union Pacific, and other railroads. In 1909, so far as could be learned, no Japanese had risen above the position of assistant to some white foreman. They now promise to occupy to a considerable extent the cherished place of the rapidly disappearing Irish in these supervisory positions. If this practical test is conclusive, the Japanese have demonstrated their industrial superiority to the South and East Europeans so far as maintenance of way work is concerned.

Employment by Two Railway Companies Typical. — The history of the employment of Japanese by the two railway companies already referred to as operating in the Northwest may be presented in summary form in order to make the discussion more concrete.

The Japanese laborers employed by these two railway companies, as already explained, have been obtained through a supply company with its main office in Seattle, but with branch offices at the various division points on the roads in Washington and Montana. The average number of men supplied gradually increased from 200, when first used in 1898, to 2,295 in 1907. The number has now fallen to 1,500 — which is a larger number by far than employed by any other two companies. When first employed as section hands, the Japanese were paid 10 or 12 cents per hour, according to the division of the road to which they were assigned. For some years previous to 1907 the corresponding rates of wages per hour had been 13 and 15 cents. At the time of the financial depression occurring toward the end of that year, wages were reduced somewhat, but they were soon increased to 12 or 14 cents, at which rates they were paid at the time the Immigration Commission made its investigations in 1909. "At these wages," the Commission reports, "the Japanese have always been lower paid than any race save the few remaining Chinese. Their wages have usually been 25 cents per day less than those paid the Italians, for example. Most of the Greek, Scandinavian, and Austrian section hands are paid $1.50 per day, but whatever the wage in the different localities investigated, it was found to be somewhat higher than that paid the Japanese similarly employed." At that time, however, the Japanese were very generally preferred by the railway officials concerned to the European immigrants, man for man. The good opinion of the roadmasters is now well shown by the large number of foremen to which reference has been made.

Since 1909, wages have advanced and all races are now paid the same rate when similarly employed. In 1912 the Japanese section hands, it is said, were paid $1.75 and $2 per day. At present the wages are 25 cents per day less.

The history of the employment of section hands has been substantially the same on other railroads except where there has been Mexican competition, and except that in a few cases the discrimination against the Japanese in the rate of wages had ceased before 1909. In the Southwest the Mexicans displaced the Japanese after a brief trial because they were cheaper and were regarded as better laborers for heavy work under the trying climatic conditions which obtain there.

Japanese in Railway Shops.—The essentials of the history of the Japanese employed in and about railroad shops and of those employed in maintenance of way do not differ. Employment of Japanese as common laborers in the yards and shops followed their employment as section hands. Here their wages were somewhat higher than in maintenance of way, but lower than those paid to the white men, largely South and East European immigrants, employed in the same capacities. By 1909 a considerable number of them had advanced to semi-skilled positions. During the last five years their wages have advanced to the general rate and still further occupational advance has been made. As against twenty section hands at $1.65 per day, and seventy "extra gang" men at $1.75, the San Pedro, Los Angeles, and Salt Lake now employs about 200

Japanese in its shops. They are engaged in various occupations, their wages varying from 17½ cents per hour for unskilled labor to 40 cents per hour for the few who have become skilled workmen. These men are supplied along with Mexican laborers by the Japanese contractor who formerly supplied only men of his own race — some 500 or more in the spring of 1909.

In Lumber Mills. — In the Northwest and in Canada a large percentage of the Japanese have been employed in the lumber mills and in the fish canneries. According to the Census the average number of wage earners employed in the lumber and shingle mills of Oregon and Washington in 1909 was 58,815. Of these some 2,400 or 2,500 were Japanese.[1] They were employed in comparatively few of the mills — some 67 of the 1,263 in Washington and only a few in Oregon — and chiefly as yard laborers. A small percentage had advanced to semi-skilled work while in one or two mills they were employed in occupations requiring considerable skill. In the lumber industry, however, both their employment and their progress had been checked by a hostile public opinion. In fact, because of race prejudice, in some instances so violent as to cause riots, they had been discriminated against to the point of being refused employment in most of the mills. In other cases they had been limited to "outside" jobs.

Paid relatively Low Wages. — Concerning the terms on which the Japanese worked, the Immigration Commission presents the following summary statement:[1]

---

[1] Immigration Commission, Reports, Vol. 25, Part V.

"Where the Japanese have been employed they have, without exception, been paid lower wages than men of other races engaged in the same occupations. In the one mill investigated where they were employed in skilled and semi-skilled positions, also, their wages were considerably lower than those paid to white men employed in similar positions in other mills. While the Japanese were employed as trimmers, edgermen, planing-mill feeders, lumber graders, lathe mill men, and carpenters at wages varying from $1.65 to $2 per day, at other mills white men engaged in these occupations were paid from $2.75 to $3.50 per day. . . . The wages paid to other men, including the small number of East Indians, engaged in common labor are higher than those paid to the Japanese similarly employed. While 'white men' are paid $1.75, $2, and $2.25 as common laborers, Japanese are paid $1.50, $1.60, and $1.75, and rarely $2, and in one mill employing a large number they receive only $1.25 per day."

Corresponding differences have from the first existed between the wages paid to Japanese and white laborers employed in this industry.

"On the whole the mill managers who have employed Japanese are of the opinion that they are more satisfactory at the rate of wages they are paid than the white men available for work as common laborers at the wages they command in the industry.

---

[1] Immigration Commission, Reports, Vol. 23, p. 47.

While the Japanese have never been employed in the majority of the mills and have been discharged from some others, this has been due chiefly to the race feeling exhibited against them and seemingly closely connected with the fact that they are of a different race and tongue and have always worked for lower wages than were paid to white men."

With Decreasing Numbers Wages have Advanced. — Even in 1909 the number of Japanese employed in the lumber industry was some 400 or 500 smaller than in 1907. During the five years ending with 1913, the number still further declined. A considerable number of those who have remained in the industry have advanced somewhat in the occupational scale, and, if the wage data collected by the Japanese Association may be accepted, their wages have advanced sharply and most of the underpayment as compared to other races has disappeared. (See table in footnote on opposite page.)

It is not necessary to review the history of Japanese laborers in other employments except to add a word with reference to the canning of salmon, for while the details differ somewhat, the same essential facts are found in almost all cases.

Japanese in Fish Canneries. — The canning of fish along the Columbia River, about Puget Sound, and in Alaska has been built upon Chinese labor. While the catching of fish has been a "white man's job," the canning has almost always been done by Chinese contractors on a piece basis. This system developed when most of the work was done by

Chinamen, and with comparatively few exceptions it is still retained because of its convenience. With the increasing scarcity of Chinese laborers, however, other races have been employed in increasing numbers, and generally assigned to the less skilled and heavier work. In 1909 some 10,000 men were employed during the busiest season in these canneries. Of the 10,000 some 3,600 were Japanese. At present the number is much smaller, for the Japanese have sought more agreeable and more remunerative work, and the attitude of the larger

---

[1] The six mills included in the following table are said to be typical. The table shows that there is now little difference in the wages paid Japanese and white men.

WAGES

Sawmills	Laborers		Mach. Dept.		Planer		Yard	
	W	J	W	J	W	J	W	J
1	100	100	$2.90	$2.90	$2.90	$2.90	$2.10	$2.10
2	117	66	2.50 2.75 3.90	2.35 2.75	2.25	2.25	2.25	2.15
3	35	22	2.50 2.75 3.00	2.25 2.65	2.25	2.25	2.25	2.25
4	60	41	2.75 3.00 4.90 6.00 $190 Mo. Engineer	2.50 2.75 3.25	2.40 2.50	2.40 2.50	2.25 2.90	2.25 2.50
5	95	95	2.90	2.90	2.25	2.25	2.25	2.15
6	16	55	3.00	2.90	2.25	2.25	2.25	2.25

W indicates white.
J indicates Japanese.

companies operating with San Francisco as a supply base has been decidedly unfavorable to the Japanese.

Some Undesirable Japanese Employed.—In 1909 five San Francisco companies sent 2,766 cannery hands to their stations in Alaska and in Washington. Of these, 1,235 were Japanese; 1,166, Chinese; 362, Filipinos; and 53, Koreans. Most of these Japanese were of a very undesirable class. They were always regarded with disfavor by their countrymen and were generally disliked by their employers. This dislike is explained by the Immigration Commission in these words:[1]

> "They are often unreliable in their contractual relations and give some trouble through excessive gambling and drinking. Where employed on a piece basis their work is said frequently to be dishonestly done. Their employment is due to the diminishing number of the Chinese who now earn rather higher wages and are hard to secure. That they are not as desirable as the Chinese is evidenced by the fact that two important companies specified in their contracts with Chinese in 1909 that the number of Japanese employed should not exceed the number of Chinese. This action was taken to secure more satisfactory work. Where Koreans and Filipinos have been employed they are regarded as more desirable than the Japanese."

At present this low class of Japanese is scarcely represented in the population of San Francisco. Upon inquiry it was found that only one of the smaller companies operating from San Francisco had sent any Japanese to the fish canneries this year, the total number of that race sailing being only about twenty. With a depressed condition of industry, it has been an easy matter to substitute other races for them. Mexicans, Filipinos, Italians, and others have been employed in increasing numbers and are said to be very much more satisfactory than the Japanese. The San Francisco packers express no regret that the immigration of Japanese laborers has been greatly restricted.

---

[1] Immigration Commission, Reports, Vol. 23, p. 407.

The Most Important Instance where Japanese Labor found Unsatisfactory. — This reference to the salmon canneries has been made because it furnishes the most important instance where the employers of Japanese laborers in industrial pursuits have not found them at least fairly satisfactory. In most instances the history of their employment in railway work and lumbering has been typical. With few exceptions their loss in numbers in an industry where they once secured employment has been due to the restrictions imposed upon further immigration and the pronounced tendency on the part of the Japanese to seek better opportunities and more satisfactory conditions in the cities and on the farms. When immigration was not greatly restricted a large percentage were carried out from the ports where they landed to do rough work in industrial employments. There has been a strong "back flow" to the cities and to agricultural employment, where the work and business of the Japanese has been more significant.

Immigration Commission's Conclusions as to Industrial Employment of Japanese. — In submitting his report to the Immigration Commission, the writer attempted to summarize the more general facts relating to the employment of Japanese in non-agricultural industries. This summary may be freely quoted here in order that the important facts of an earlier situation may receive due emphasis. Attention will then be called to the more recent developments.

After noting the few instances where Japanese laborers were introduced — as other immigrants have been introduced — as strike breakers, the summary proceeds as follows:[1]

"A premium has been placed upon the substitution of Japanese rather than of other immigrant races by the fact that they were made easily available by the Japanese contractors, and that because of the position of the contractors, their employment involved the least inconvenience to the employers. Almost without exception the Japanese employed in the industries of the West have been secured through Japanese 'bosses' who undertake to provide the number of men required, and frequently keep the 'time' of the men, and pay them off, in return for an interpreter's fee of $1 per month (generally collected), a commission on their earnings (usually 5 per cent but sometimes less), and the privilege (generally exercised) of supplying the men with such goods as they do not purchase at local stores. These contractors have had a supply of labor available; other cheap laborers must be 'recruited,' largely through employment agents in the cities of the Middle West, which involves competition with the industries more conveniently reached from these supply centers. This organization of the Japanese laborers must be emphasized above all other things in explaining the demand for them.

---

[1] Immigration Commission, Reports, Vol. 1, pp. 664 et seq.

"The Japanese have usually worked for a lower wage than the members of any other race save the Chinese and the Mexican. In the salmon canneries the Chinese have been paid higher wages than the Japanese engaged in the same occupations. In the lumber industry all races, including the East Indian, have been paid higher wages than the Japanese doing the same kind of work. As section hands and laborers in railway shops they have been paid as much as or more than the Chinese and more than the Mexicans, but as a rule less than the white men of many races. In coal mining they have been employed chiefly as miners and loaders and have worked at the common piece rate, but in Wyoming, where they have been employed as 'company men,' they were paid less per day than the European immigrants employed in large numbers until their acceptance as members of the United Mine Workers in 1907 gave them the benefit of the standard rate established by bargaining between the union and the operators. As construction laborers they have usually, though not invariably, been paid less than the other races employed except the East Indians and the Mexicans. Competition among the races engaged in unskilled work appears generally to have hinged upon the rate of wages paid rather than the efficiency of the races employed.

"During the period when the Japanese were arriving in this country in largest numbers, the question of differences in wages between the white races and the Japanese began to solve itself to such an extent that gradually the variation became trifling and there were instances where there was no diversity in the wages paid each. This is accounted for partly by the skillful bargaining of the few large contractors who have supplied the great majority of the laborers for work in canneries, on the railroads, in the lumber mills, and for other industrial enterprises, partly by the fact that there was an increasing demand for Japanese labor in other industries, which one after the other had been opened to them.

"Though regarded as less desirable than the Chinese and the Mexicans, roadmasters and section foremen usually prefer Japanese to the Italians, Greeks, and Slavs, as section hands.

"In the railway shops they are usually given higher rank than the Mexicans and Greeks and sometimes the Italians as well. They are versatile, adaptable, and ambitious, and are regarded as good laborers and helpers. In salmon canning, on the other hand, they are universally regarded as much less desirable than the Chinese and are inferior to the Filipinos, who have recently engaged in the industry in Alaska. Not only are the Japanese less experienced in the industry than the Chinese, but they are considered less reliable in contractual relations and do not have the highly developed instinct of workmanship which causes the Chinaman to be regarded as the most careful and the most trustworthy laborer. . . . On the whole, however, the Japanese have been regarded as satisfactory laborers at the wage paid. . . .

"Regardless of these considerations, however, in most branches of industry the Japanese have found it difficult to make much advance. In the lumber industry the great majority of employers have never engaged them at all. In some instances this is explained by the race antipathy of the employer, and more frequently by that of the white employees, who object strongly to the employment of Japanese, save possibly in the yards and along the streams where there is work other men refuse to do. In several instances the members of the community have exhibited their opposition to the employment of this race by demanding their discharge and, upon occasions, threatening violence. The same situation is found in most industries in which the Japanese have been employed where large groups of men are brought together at one place and the work is of such a character that the members of different races must work in close association. While exceptions are found in a few other industries, it is mainly in the salmon canneries and in railway work that a hostile public opinion has had little effect upon the employment of Japanese.

"Chiefly because of the attitude of other laborers and the fact that many of the Japanese do not understand English and must be set at work in groups with an interpreter, the Japanese have generally engaged in unskilled work."

This summary is a conservative statement of fact. Since it was written, however, some changes have occurred.

The Rule of the "Contractor" has Weakened. — With the passing of time and the presence of few recently arrived laborers, the rule of the contractor has perceptibly weakened. The competition of Japanese has as a consequence lost much of its force. This fact is perhaps of no importance, however, in considering the effects of a further immigration of any considerable proportions, for the old organization would probably regain most of its former strength where laborers were needed in comparatively large numbers. Such an organization of the unskilled labor supply must be accepted as a part of the situation accompanying any considerable immigration.

The Lower Level of Wages has practically Disappeared. — The lower level of wages paid Japanese has practically disappeared largely because of the effective restrictions imposed upon further immigration, the increased efficiency which has come with experience and a knowledge of English, and the tendency of the Japanese to search out the most remunerative employments or to establish themselves as farmers or business men.

Occupational Advance Made. — One factor of considerable significance is that the Japanese have shown good ability in industrial pursuits and have made considerable occupational advance. They have shown themselves to be an industrially efficient people. Another is that they have shown they are not content, as were the Chinese, to remain on the lowest rung of the industrial ladder. Many whose occupational advance has been slow have sought to better themselves by turning to agriculture or by engaging in business. In this respect they are very much like the more ambitious Americans.

Few Japanese Employers in Industry. — Few Japanese, save the laundrymen and tailors, have engaged in industry as employers of labor. Near Portland a prominent Japanese conducts a large shingle mill. In Colorado another has been very successful as a contractor in building railways and irrigation systems. These isolated instances have no significance, however, except that they show the business ability and industrial efficiency of the Japanese race.

CHAPTER III

THE JAPANESE IN WESTERN CITIES: THEIR WORK AND BUSINESS

Japanese in City Occupations. — While the largest numbers of Japanese have sought employment in railway maintenance of way, in the mines, in the lumber mills, or in the fish canneries, and in the fields and orchards, a large percentage of the student class and of the business men have remained in the cities, where opportunities for social life and employment, and, perhaps, for study and observation, appealed more strongly to them. To these others have been added as a result of a "back flow" from non-urban employments, which have not given opportunity for those reared in cities to follow their crafts or business, have been accompanied by hard and unsatisfactory living conditions, and in which, except by becoming independent farmers, the Japanese have generally found occupational advance difficult. As in the case of the ambitious and socially inclined natives, many Japanese have been lured or driven into the cities. There domestic service and related occupations, shopkeeping, and the professions have given them opportunity. In spite of much discrimination, the needs of their countrymen and their ability in competition with other races have enabled them to make headway in a limited number of occupations and as shopkeepers. In 1909 the Immigration Commission estimated that from 22,000 to 26,000 of something more than 80,000 gainfully occupied were engaged in city trades and business in the West. The proportion so occupied at present is somewhat larger in spite of the fact that the branches of business closely connected with the influx of new immigrants have appreciably waned.

The economic activities of Japanese in cities may be treated in two groups: those in employments not connected with Japanese business, and those which are so connected. Their significance can be shown only by introducing considerable history. To this a few noteworthy things of recent development are to be added.

Few employed in Factories and Workshops. — The Immigration Commission found that very few Japanese were employed in factories and workshops. Some were found employed in sorting and packing tea, in manufacturing cigars and cigarettes, and in the manufacture of iron and steel in San Francisco, in manufacturing gloves in Seattle, and in meat packing in Omaha, but in none of these industries had more than a few been employed. The same general situation obtains today. This limited employment in the general industrial field is explained to some extent by the fact that comparatively few have immigrated from cities with an experience which would fit them for such employment, but to a larger extent by the presence of other cheap immigrant laborers, union opposition, and a general feeling that factory employment is "white man's work" — a tradition established in California especially as a result of the successful fight against the Chinese. As the Immigration Commission, with reference to San Francisco, states, the Chinese "at one time predominated in the shoe factories, in the manufacture of clothing, and in cigar making. The opposition was so strong, however, that most of them were discharged from the factories engaged in those branches of production. Moreover, this widespread opposition to the Chinese prevented occupations in other establishments conducted by white employers from being opened to them. No doubt this experience accounts largely for the fact that the Japanese have never been conspicuously employed in any branch of manufacture in San Francisco. At the same time a large influx of Italians and the smaller influx of Russians, Mexicans, Spaniards, and Porto Ricans, along with other races, has provided an abundance of cheap labor for manufactures requiring little skill and which are not attractive to higher classes of workmen."[1] With a tradition against employing Orientals in factories and shops and with strong opposition when Japanese were employed in the manufacture of shoes in San Francisco, employers for more than thirty years have generally sought to employ white persons only, and the doors have seldom been opened to the Asiatic races.

Domestic Service. — In domestic service and in related employments as "house cleaners" and

---

[1] Immigration Commission, Reports, Vol. 23, p. 98.

"day workers," as "help" in restaurants, hotels, barrooms, and clubs, and as "general help" in offices and stores conducted by white men, on the other hand, something more than one half of the Japanese employed in cities have been found. The number so employed in the West was reported by the Immigration Commission as between 12,000 and 15,000. More recently they have advanced in some cases, while in others they have lost ground. The total number so employed at present is perhaps about the same as it was in 1909.

There has always been a dearth of domestic servants in the West at much higher wages than have obtained in the Eastern states. The Japanese, like the Chinese before them, have accepted the opportunity offered. Though in some instances many of them have been employed, the Immigration Commission found that the number of white women employed in those cities had expanded all the while. No doubt the increase of wages was retarded somewhat by their presence, but a substantial increase took place even before the restrictions upon Japanese immigration took effect in 1907.

Day Workers. — The Japanese alone have made an organized effort to meet the demands of those in need of temporary and irregular service, and, in California especially, a large number have been thus occupied. These "day workers," as they are called, ordinarily live in groups, varying from six to as many as forty, and go to private houses to do house-cleaning, window cleaning, washing, waiting on table and gardening as calls come to the office by telephone or otherwise. Their wages have always been as high as those paid women for housework. In San Francisco the rate per day was $1.50 in 1900. By 1903 it was $1.75, by 1907, $2. It is now considerably higher, in some places 35 cents per hour. The rates by the hour for "part days" have been higher and the "fee" for good service, such as cooking for dinner parties and waiting on table, has been larger than that paid for unskilled work. This is one branch of employment in which the Japanese have continued to advance — in spite of higher wages commanded, against which there is now considerable protest — because of the great convenience of their organization and their acceptability as "help." In San Francisco there were 162 groups of "house cleaners" in 1913 as against 148 in 1909. In Los Angeles there were 67 as against 18 four years before. They have settled in the residence districts so as to reach the place of work easily and quickly, and their names are made to stand out in the telephone directory. By organization to meet this need of service, perhaps the Japanese have added more to the comfort of the housewives who do not keep regular servants, than to the comfort or profit of any other group in the population.

Miscellaneous Occupations. Some Opposition Aroused. — As dishwashers and 'bus boys in hotels and restaurants and as cleaners and general help in saloons, clubs, and stores, they have shared work with white men chiefly. The Immigration Commission found that when employed in the restaurants and hotels they worked for less than the union scale and usually for a longer day or for a seven-day week. As a result the Cooks' Helpers' Union in San Francisco formerly made much complaint of their underbidding. It was found, however, that their wages in 1909 were about the same as those of non-union white men, and of course they have substantially increased in more recent years. In many cities of the West they found ready employment in barrooms as cleaners and lunch boys because they were easily secured from the employment offices for $10 or $12 per week, while temperate and reliable white men could not be easily obtained. Their general employment in barrooms in San Francisco led to a boycott of many of the saloons some seven or eight years ago. This hostile movement has practically died out, however, so that they are generally employed in saloons in San Francisco as they are in the other cities in the Pacific Coast states. As bell boys in hotels they have been found to be acceptable and are very generally employed in that capacity in Portland and Seattle, where the traveling public has not shown much opposition. In California, however, the opposition proved too great and few have been or are now employed in the hotels of that state. Most of these Japanese are of the student class and find such employment agreeable. The hotel managers have employed them because of the difficulty experienced with the kind of white men who are available for such work at a comparatively small wage. In all the larger cities along the Coast the Japanese are employed as cleaners and porters in drug stores and many retail establishments. Here again it has been difficult to secure responsible white men of good appearance for $10 to $12 per week.

A General Statement. — This brief statement covers sufficiently well the employment of Japanese in the Western cities, except in connection with their own business establishments. They have usually been efficient unless handicapped by a poor knowledge of English, they have been easily secured when others have not, and though they have until recently been "cheap labor" in these communities, it is safe to say that only in exceptional cases have they undermined the working conditions of others seeking employment. To a large extent they have "filled in" where others have not been attracted in large numbers because of the character of the work. In few branches of employment desired by white men have the Japanese ever been permitted to gain a foothold.

Japanese engaged in Business or Employed by Others so Engaged. — Much more interest attaches to the Japanese engaged in business and those employed by their countrymen who are so engaged.

Several things have coöperated to cause many Japanese places of business to be opened in the Pacific Coast cities. Reference has already been made to the "back flow" from employment in maintenance of way, mining, lumbering, and agriculture, because of the isolated life, lack of opportunity (except to become independent farmers), and tardy occupational advance. The especially strong tendency on the part of those who had engaged in business or been reared in the cities of their native land, to seek the cities where their experience would count for most is noteworthy. So also is the strong desire on the part of nearly all Japanese to escape from the dependent position of the wage earner. Independent farming and shopkeeping and the like have presented avenues of escape from this unpleasant status, and opportunities to engage in them have been eagerly embraced. In the strength of their ambition one reason is found for the more rapid advance, other than occupational, of the Japanese than of any other race conspicuous in the population of the Western states.

Necessity of Providing for the Needs of their Countrymen. — Another important factor in accounting for their advance in business is found in the urgent needs of their countrymen. Almost universal discrimination against them in boarding houses, restaurants, barber shops, and places of amusement made it necessary for them to make provision for the necessities and amusements of their fellows as they immigrated. Accordingly the Japanese boarding house, restaurant, bathhouse, barber shop, and pool room have appeared in almost every community with more than a few Japanese. Again, immigrant laborers of this race have been organized to work under the supervision of, and have been furnished supplies by, "contractors." Hence the employment agency and the "supply house." Moreover, the Japanese immigrants have demanded many food and miscellaneous articles from their native land. This furnished an opportunity for importers and shopkeepers. Shops for the publication of newspapers and magazines and for job printing in the Japanese language came as a matter of course. Furthermore, the rapidly growing demand on the part of the general public for Japanese toys and wares gave an opportunity for the Japanese "curio" dealer just as it has for the Chinese shops of the same general character. Finally, as time passed, the Japanese embraced the opportunity to enter the general competitive field and started grocery stores, laundries, restaurants, shoe shops, and the like, primarily for white patrons.

Increasing Number of Business Establishments. — Beginning practically with a well-defined stream of immigration, the number of Japanese places of business increased rapidly. This is especially so during the years subsequent to 1904, when the number of places of business increased considerably more rapidly than the Japanese population. The Immigration Commission presented data to show the rapid increase which had taken place in Seattle and some other cities[1] previous to 1909. At that time it was estimated that 10,000 or 11,000, or even more, were engaged in business for themselves in the Western states, or were employed by those who were thus occupied, or were professional men and craftsmen working on their own account. San Francisco headed a list of cities with 545 places of business; Seattle had 478; Los Angeles, 473; Sacramento, 209; Fresno, 107; and other places reported smaller numbers.[1] The California Commissioner of Labor as a result of his fairly complete census made in the seven most important cities in 1909, reported 2,548 business establishments conducted by Japanese in the one state. Perhaps the total number in the West was then not far from 4,000. In spite of the fact that those branches of business dependent primarily upon recently arrived immigrants have waned during the last few years, the number of establishments has increased. This is one notable instance of the advance made by the Japanese in business.

---

[1] In the several reports on the Japanese in city employments and business in the principal cities of the Pacific Coast and Rocky Mountain states, Vol. 23.

The Results of Two Investigations. — The result of the extensive investigations of Japanese business made by the Immigration Commission and the California Labor Commissioner[2] may be introduced here so far as significant. More recent developments as gained from my limited observations and investigations may then be indicated.

Numerous Establishments but Most of them Small. — The summary statement presented by the

---

[1] Immigration Commission, Reports, Vol. 23, p. 100.

[2] The general tables compiled by the Commissioner have been published in the Fourteenth Biennial Report (1911–12), pp. 604–632.

Immigration Commission is of especial interest.[1] It pointed out first, in accord with what has already been said, "that most of the Japanese business establishments have been started in recent years; that the number in the large cities serving as supply centers has rapidly increased; and that a few establishments have been started in many smaller places as well." Of more importance is noted the fact "that with comparatively few exceptions the Japanese business establishments are small, employing comparatively little capital, being conducted with the assistance of comparatively few employees, and having a comparatively small volume of annual transactions." The situation in the other states was not different from that in California, for which the Commissioner of Labor presents acceptable statistics. The capital of 68.7 per cent of the 2,548 establishments investigated by him was less than $1,000, and 55.3 per cent of them were carried on by the proprietor or proprietors, and possibly their wives, without hired assistance. The total amount of capital employed was $4,075,296; of annual transactions, $16,114,407, which gives an average of capital somewhat less than $1,600, and of transactions, about $6,300 per establishment.[2] The total number of persons engaged, proprietors and employees, was 6,556, an average of a little less than 2.5 per establishment. These figures are confirmed in a general way by those published in the Japanese-American Yearbook, for the year July 1, 1908 to June 30, 1909.[1] The aggregate capital of the 2,938 establishments reported amounted to $4,816,573, their transactions, $13,020,462. The number of persons connected with these establishments was estimated at 7,038, an average of 2.4 per establishment. Thus it is evident that most of these places were conducted by a single proprietor or by him and his wife, or by two partners, with little capital, and that exaggerated importance might easily be attached to the number of shops and other places reported. The fact is that from the point of view of the business carried on in the several localities, most of them were small and inconsequential affairs.

---

[1] Reports, Vol. 23, pp. 102 et seq.

[2] The writer has good reason to believe that the amount of capital and volume of business were frequently exaggerated. The follow-

Most of the Wants of Japanese provided for by their Countrymen. "American" Business. — The

ing summary table has been compiled for seven California cities from the Fourteenth Biennial Report of the Commissioner of Labor.

City	No. of Establishments	Individual Concerns	Partnership Concerns	Corporations	Capital Invested	Annual Transactions
San Francisco	497	331	142	24	$1,384,005	$6,479,729
Los Angeles	305	195	97	13	802,965	3,069,193
Oakland	178	132	40	6	140,500	551,000
Sacramento	154	129	22	3	184,890	686,740
Fresno	101	81	16	4	271,115	1,550,000
San José	79	70	8	1	103,700	161,860
Stockton	54	46	8	0	55,005	238,700
Summary totals (all places)	2,348	1,934	350	64	$4,075,226	$16,114,407

---

[1] See Immigration Commission, Reports, Vol. 23, pp. 101–102.

third observation made by the Immigration Commission was, however, "That in the large cities where there are many Japanese there are many branches of business and professions represented, so that because of clannishness, convenience in point of location and language, and the character of the goods carried in stock, as well as because of a feeling of opposition toward the Asiatics, with the result that they are not welcomed at white establishments engaged in personal service, the majority of the wants of the Japanese are met by their countrymen engaged in business and the professions."[1] The fourth observation was "that

---

[1] The variety and general character of the places of business are shown by the following table presented by the Immigration Commission, Reports, Vol. 23, p. 100:

Kind of Business	Seattle	Tacoma	Portland	San Francisco	Sacramento	Fresno	Los Angeles
(a) Stores and Shops							
Art and curio	12	5	4	42	1	—	15
Book and drug stores	4	—	—	14	4	2	8
Fruit and vegetables	—	3	—	8	—	—	20
Furnishing	—	—	—	13	9	—	—
Importing and exporting	—	—	—	5	—	—	—
Meat and fish	5	—	1	5	3	4	3
Provision and supply	26	—	8	22	12	4	27
Sake (liquor)	2	—	—	7	—	—	5
Watch and jewelry	7	—	1	8	4	6	5
(b) Personal Service							
Barber shops	46	9	10	18	26	12	44

while many of the Japanese establishments have been called into existence primarily to meet the needs of the members of their race, others have been started, chiefly in recent years, for 'American

Kind of Business	Seattle	Tacoma	Portland	San Francisco	Sacramento	Fresno	Los Angeles
Bath houses	26	5	13	13	7	4	26
Hotels, boarding and lodging houses	72	8	12	51	37	12	90
Laundries	37	6	9	19	6	5	7
Restaurants (American meals)	36	5	14	17	8	3	25
Restaurants (Japanese meals)	51	7	11	33	26	15	38
Tailoring, dyeing, and dressmaking	45	3	2	52	6	—	16
(c) Amusements							
Moving-picture shows	—	—	—	—	1	2	1
Pool and billiard parlors and shooting galleries	25	4	4	28	15	10	33
(d) Others							
Bamboo shops	—	—	—	7	—	—	1
Banks	3	—	—	1	1	2	1
Confectioners	5	—	1	4	4	—	—
Contractors	—	—	2	12	—	—	—
Employment agents	17	1	2	12	4	—	7
Embroidery	—	—	—	3	—	—	—
Expressmen	10	3	2	5	6	—	20
Florists	—	—	—	4	—	—	—
Job printing shops	7	—	—	5	2	—	2
Magazines and newspapers	12	—	1	6	1	—	7
Photograph galleries	5	1	—	8	3	—	6
Rice mills	—	—	—	2	—	—	—
Shoe stores and cobbler shops	5	—	1	76	3	2	17
Tofu makers	—	—	1	2	3	—	3
Miscellaneous	20	3	5	43	15	22	35
Total	478	65	97	545	209	107	473

trade,' and are patronized largely and almost exclusively by white persons." It reported with reference to Seattle that some of the grocers, and most of the 45 tailors and dyers, the 12 curio dealers, the 7 watch makers, the 5 shoe repairers, the 5 fish markets, the 36 restaurants serving American meals, the 46 barber shops, and the 37 laundries (the smaller hand laundries excepted) were the exception to the general rule, in that a very large percentage of their patrons were white people. Much the same was found to be true in the other cities where an intensive investigation was made.

Underbidding through Lower Prices. — Of most interest, the Commission reported "that rather frequently, in competing with white establishments, the Japanese have underbid through a lower scale of prices," "but that because of organized opposition in some instances, and of the small number of Japanese establishments as compared to those conducted by other races, the trades which have been seriously affected by Japanese competition in most cities, have been few."

The terms on which Japanese have competed with others are of special interest, for they are significant of what would be expected to happen with a considerable immigration and with slow occupational advance in this country. The investigations made by the Immigration Commission established the fact that there was or had been some underbidding as a rule on the part of the Japanese proprietors of barber shops, laundries, grocery stores, cleaning and dyeing establishments, and shoe-repairing shops. This underbidding was made possible because of lower wages paid employees, longer hours sometimes worked, and willingness on the part of the proprietors to accept less profit than their white competitors. There is some relation between the wages they might have earned and the amount of profit they must realize from the business conducted by them. This gave a lower standard of profit and uneven terms of competition.

Japanese Laundries. — As the result of a rapid development there were, in 1909, 75 laundries in Seattle, Tacoma, Sacramento, San Francisco, and Los Angeles. The number of persons employed, including proprietors, was perhaps 950. Most of the establishments were hand laundries, but a few were operated by steam and employed upwards of 25 men. An investigation brought out the fact that the prices charged by Japanese had frequently been less than those charged by white laundrymen of various races and French hand laundrymen in San Francisco, that Japanese were employed almost exclusively in laundries conducted by their countrymen, and that while they worked more hours per day, their wages were smaller in 1909 than those paid to persons employed in white steam laundries and to those employed in French hand laundries in San Francisco. The Immigration Commission reported:

"In Seattle, San Francisco, and Los Angeles the agents investigated the wages and hours of work in white as well as in Japanese laundries. The hours are rather irregular and vary greatly, but in general it may be said that in Seattle those of the Japanese laundries are regularly from 66 to 69 per week, as against 55 to 60 in white steam laundries. The corresponding figures for Los Angeles were 8½ per day for the larger steam laundries and 10 per day for the small hand laundries and those conducted by Japanese — all with over-time each week. In San Francisco the hours per week in Japanese laundries varied from 60 to 72, in 6 French laundries, from 50 to 63, while in unionized white steam laundries they were 49 per week."

"Practically all of the Japanese laborers receive board and lodging in addition to wages. This, together with different periods for the payment of wages, makes it difficult to compare the wages of different classes of laundry employees. In San Francisco, however, the average wage of 89 Japanese male employees was $28.90 per month; of 32 men and 20 women employed in French laundries with board and room and lodging $37.69 and $33.18 respectively; of 52 men and 65 women employed in other French laundries, without board and lodging, $48.56 and $40.53, respectively; of 140 men and 204 women employed in white steam laundries, these also without board and lodging, $69.74 and $44.33, respectively. It is evident that if allowance is made for the value of board (it costs the Japanese employer from $8 to $10 per month), the wages of the Japanese are lower for a longer work day than those paid to employees of competing French and white steam laundries. Similar differences, though less great, were found to prevail in the wages paid to these classes of laundry workers in Seattle and Los Angeles and in other places where the details as to wages were ascertained."[1]

Anti-Jap Laundry Leagues. — The increase in the number of Japanese laundries, the increase in their size, the improvement in their methods and equipment, and the expansion of their business, though its volume was in no large city more than a small percentage of the whole, together with the comparatively low rates of wages which prevailed in the Japanese laundries, were sufficient to cause the white laundrymen to fear their competition and in some places to organize in order to limit it. The organization of several "anti-Jap laundry leagues" in California was not entirely without reason, in spite of the fact that most of the competition was between Japanese and French laundries. Of course this statement does not carry with it approval of all the methods employed by those organizations. In order to diminish the patronage of the Japanese establishments, lists of their patrons were prepared, and appeals were made in person, by card, or by letter to them, to discontinue sending laundry to the Asiatics. Extravagant billboard advertising, making appeals along the same lines, was also resorted to. At the same time, these leagues were active in preventing the granting of the necessary permits to Japanese to operate steam laundries, and by appeal or threat of boycott, the coöperation of some of the laundry supply houses was gained, with the result that some of the Japanese proprietors experienced difficulty in securing needed supplies.

---

[1] Immigration Commission, Reports, Vol. 23, pp. 119-121.

Other Trades. — Except for the absence of organized opposition, the story of the restaurants serving "American meals" is very much the same as that of the laundries. Underbidding by Japanese barbers troubled their white competitors in some places also. This was notably the case in Seattle, where the union prices usual in the West had to be lowered to meet Japanese competition at lower prices. This underbidding did not end until July, 1909. The chief complaint of the white barbers was, however, that many Japanese shops had been established with the result that the trade was shared among a greater number. The business of pressing and dyeing of clothes in one part of Seattle is the same story over again. In California many Japanese shoe repairers were found. They were thoroughly organized into a union which advanced aid when needed, provided supplies at an advance of ten per cent over cost, and made rules as to the location of Japanese shops. The prices charged by these cobblers were generally somewhat less than the prices charged by white cobblers in the same neighborhoods.

Provision and Grocery Stores. — Japanese provision and grocery stores were investigated by the Immigration Commission in Seattle, Sacramento, and Los Angeles. Most of their business was with Japanese who purchased the greater part of their articles of food from them, and a good many of their sales were of goods of Japanese origin. Thus taking the stores investigated in California by the Commissioner of Labor, 51.9 per cent of their goods came from Japan, 47.8 per cent were produced in the United States, while 0.3 per cent came from other countries. But along with the stores conducted primarily for Japanese patrons, were an increasing number which were designed for so-called "American trade." This was especially true in Seattle and Sacramento, and in both of these places there was some complaint of underselling by the Japanese. Except in Sacramento the shops were small, their patronage local, and their competition with similar small shops conducted by the Greeks, Slavs, and other members of the "new immigrant" races. It was found that though the item of rent was greater in the Japanese expense account, they had an advantage over their competitors in the cost of clerk hire.

Serious Competition limited to a Few Instances.—Thus, while it may be said that the numerous Japanese establishments were, for the most part, small, the volume of transactions not large, and most of the business done with Japanese, so that the instances of any serious competition with others were few, it is a significant fact that where there was competition it was not or had not been, as a rule, on equal terms. The rather extensive underbidding in industrial employments of an earlier time was paralleled by a less important underbidding in business. The wage bill was that paid for the cheaper labor of Japanese help and the margin of profit required was smaller.

Losses of White Shopkeepers caused by Population Changes. — But the most serious loss actually sustained by white shopkeepers in such places as Seattle, Sacramento, and Los Angeles, were incidental to the changes which the population underwent. As the Japanese moved into a locality others tended strongly to move out, and inasmuch as most of the more common dealings of the newcomers were with the shopkeepers of their own race, the white shopkeepers had fewer and fewer patrons. Most of the grocery stores, barber shops, and small restaurants conducted by white men have been closed in the districts populated by Japanese, as their white patrons moved away. As the Immigration Commission stated in its summary:

> "In some instances the changes in the character of the population resulting from the settlement of Japanese, who trade chiefly at shops conducted by their countrymen, have seriously affected the business of shopkeepers and others located in or near Japanese colonies."

Formation of Japanese Colonies. — A brief statement should be made about the formation of the colonies in which most of the Japanese residing in urban communities live. In most communities they are discriminated against. It has been at times difficult for official representatives of the Japanese government and well-to-do business men of this race to secure suitable dwellings. The rank and file have been both forced and led into the sections of the city where rents were low, but, as a rule, where houses were being vacated for better ones elsewhere. Once a group has been formed, common language, acquaintance, shops, and amusement places cause other Japanese to join it. Available buildings then command high rents so far as the colony spreads. These high rents and prejudice, in turn, cause other races to move elsewhere. As this shifting process takes place, the values and rentals of property lying near the "Japanese quarter" fall because of little demand for it, until it, too, is vacated for the expansion of the colony.

Few White Persons employed by Japanese. The "living-in" System. — As would be expected, nearly all of those employed in Japanese establishments have been Japanese. The proprietors naturally prefer their countrymen because of common language, acquaintance, and race bonds and because they are cheaper help, while with the more or less strained relations which have obtained, few white persons have cared to work in Japanese establishments, other than curio stores and, perhaps, restaurants. The California Labor Commissioner found that as against 3,448 Japanese employed for wages in the 2,548 establishments investigated by him, there were only 35 white men and 26 white women. As would be expected, also, when there were comparatively few Japanese families and the single men who worked for wages must be boarded and sheltered by their countrymen, the "living-in" system generally prevailed. Thus the California Labor Commissioner found that 69.9 per cent of the Japanese establishments provided lodging for their Japanese help. These were usually in the rear or over the place of business — store, barber shop, laundry, or pool room. Thus the Japanese quarter has been one chiefly of small stores, shops, pool halls, restaurants, and boarding houses, and most of the Japanese have lived in the boarding houses or in the rear of or over the places of business.

Housing Conditions. — The agents of the Immigration Commission and of the California Labor Commissioner found there had been much unwarranted criticism of the conditions under which the Japanese were housed. The furnishings were as good or better than in the ordinary immigrant quarter in the West, and better than in the immigrant quarter of Eastern cities. From the point of view of cleanliness and sanitation, their condition was superior to that of other races similarly circumstanced. The California Commissioner of Labor reported with reference to sanitary conditions that 1,877 Japanese establishments were "good," 387 were "fair," and only 31 were "bad." Of the lodgings, 1,392 were "good," 556 were "fair," while 86 were "bad." The proportions thus shown would apply at that time to the Japanese in the cities of other Western states than California.

This is the situation as it had developed and as it obtained in 1909. What changes have been witnessed in the subsequent five years of restricted immigration?

Changes since 1909. — There has been some gain in number of establishments conducted, in spite of a slowly decreasing number of adult Japanese in the country. The increase in capital and business transacted has been greater than the increase in the number of establishments. The number of important shops has perceptibly increased and the number of small ones has not noticeably diminished. In places like Denver, Salt Lake City, Ogden, Fresno, and San Francisco, where the population has been almost stationary or has fallen off, many small establishments have become bankrupt and little or no gain has been made. The restriction of immigration has seriously injured many lines of business in these supply centers. In Sacramento, Los Angeles, and Seattle, on the other hand, conditions have been more favorable and a very considerable advance has been made, especially in the larger places securing more or less "American trade."

Expansion of Business in Los Angeles. — The greatest expansion of business has taken place in Los Angeles. The number of establishments has increased by fully fifty per cent and the amount of capital invested and business transacted by perhaps two hundred per cent. While an increasing number of restaurants have been started in different locations to secure white patronage, most of East 1st Street and one or two cross streets, which several years ago were shared by others and the Japanese, are now occupied very generally by Japanese establishments. The general appearance of the community is much better than it was five years ago. A number of the general stores are very good ones indeed, the barber shops have expanded in some cases from two to four or more chairs, two first-class tailoring establishments have appeared, two very good hotels have been erected and are patronized by others as well as by Japanese, and several of the boarding houses are in very good buildings and are well furnished. Taken as a whole, the stores and shops look better than those of white men, mostly foreign-born, in the same section of the city. This is especially true of the barber shops. All of them appear to have recently been papered and repaired and are scrupulously clean. The big impression made on the investigator, who has had the fortune to see the Los Angeles Japanese quarter, is that the members of this race are just as efficient in business as they are in intensive farming and in many branches of labor. Sacramento, Seattle, and some other places deepen this impression. In this is found the most significant change effected during the last five years.

Gain in American Trade; More Trading by Japanese at American Stores. — Of course the amount of non-Japanese patronage of these business establishments has increased with time and with the improvements in the stocks of goods and business methods. Certainly the proportion of American patronage is considerably larger than it was five years ago. On the other hand, however, there is much evidence that the clannishness of the Japanese is breaking down where public opinion will permit it. In Los Angeles, Sacramento, and some other places, one now sees many Japanese entering and leaving the large department stores located on the best business streets. Five years ago it was not so.

The testimony of the merchants is that the Japanese are good customers and buy things of good quality. Of course in the case of personal service, they still patronize the Japanese barber shops, the Japanese restaurants, and the Japanese pool hall, for they are very generally discriminated against in all but the more "exclusive" places where high prices draw the line against all but a few.

Standards of Living have improved. Better Wages. — The Japanese are living better than they did. The many women who have come have improved the housekeeping, while time has greatly changed the average man's standards in regard to living quarters.[1] The observance of better standards than formerly obtained, and better than observed by most others in the same sections of these Western cities, has been made possible by better earnings. The wages paid in laundries, stores, and elsewhere are considerably higher than they were before the agreement made a difference in the number of new immigrants. And with this increase in wages a great part of the advantage the Japanese once had in competing with other business men has been lost, and the instances of underbidding have become comparatively few. Everywhere the prices charged by Japanese barbers were found to have come to the scale charged at the better white shops and to be higher than those charged at the poor shops conducted near by by white immigrants. In Seattle the Barbers' Union has voted to admit the Japanese barbers to membership if the national organization will change its constitution so as to permit it, and working relations have been entered into in some other places. The same is equally true, so far as prices are concerned, of most other shops — cleaning and dyeing, shoe repairing, etc. — and of restaurants serving American meals. With one exception, little complaint was heard of underbidding by store-keepers and laundrymen. The Anti-Jap Laundry League of San Francisco, it is true, still protests against underbidding, alleged bad sanitary conditions, and the like, as of old; but the main reason for the continued opposition is found in the feeling that the fight must be kept up because of an immigration problem presumed to be lurking in the background, if not in the fact that it makes jobs with salaries attached. It is increasingly difficult to secure money to pay the expenses of the organization. Most of the other laundry leagues have disbanded.

---

[1] Mr. Kawakami's statement (*Asia at the Door*, p. 126) that "In fairness it must be admitted that the Japanese quarter in any American city is as sanitary and clean as any foreign district, if not much more so," is strictly true.

Changing Opinions. Opposition in Seattle. — The feeling on the part of the business men in general seems to have waxed or waned according to whether or not the Japanese have continued to make progress. In those cities where no advance is being made, they have little to say. In Los Angeles, on the other hand, considerable feeling against the Japanese has developed. One rather frequently hears the remark that "the Japanese are all right as farmers and laborers, but they are not satisfied with that. They crowd into and compete for business." Yet outside of the active trade union opposition in San Francisco (and with changed conditions this is less active than five years ago), no very active opposition is now found except in Seattle. While the laboring men in that city are giving evidence of accepting the Japanese under present conditions and restrictions, admitting them to the Timber Workers' Union, voting to admit them to the Barbers' Union if permitted to do so, and discussing admission in two other unions, the retail grocers have recently been trying to rid themselves of new competition. In recent years the Japanese have entered the general competitive field in the grocery trade and now have upwards of twenty groceries outside of the "Japanese quarter" bounded by Yesler Way. These are scattered throughout the city and are designed for the American trade. The white grocers have complained of the cutting of prices. Japanese tell me that it has been practiced to some extent, but that the difficulty experienced by the white grocers has been due chiefly to the competition of the exceptionally fine public markets which are more and more extensively patronized, and in which the prices of meats, vegetables, and provisions are low. Whatever the reason for the difficulty experienced may have been, it is true that there has been competition for white trade by newly opened stores and some cutting of prices, and that the Retail Grocers' Association began active opposition to the Japanese. A few months ago the coöperation of the wholesale grocers was sought, and whether because of fear of boycott or of sympathy, with a prospect of success, until it became evident that the Japanese stores would secure the necessary stocks of goods from wholesale grocers in Tacoma and elsewhere. The plan to boycott was then abandoned. The opposition, however, has not ceased. It has only failed to find a practicable method of becoming effective. The *Trade Register* suggests that the President and Congress should be petitioned so to amend treaties and statutes as "to prevent all members of all colored races, except American Indians and negroes born in the United States, from becoming citizens of this country or engaging in business in any capacity in the United States in competition with a citizen of this country." To this is added that "petitions could be placed upon the counters of all merchants in the Pacific Coast and Rocky Mountain states who are materially affected by the competition involved, and with their coöperation and that of the various organizations of farmers, fishermen, miners, and other classes of people concerned in those states, it ought not to be difficult to obtain enough signatures to secure the desired federal action."[1]

The Level of Competition and Opposition. — The level of competition has been an important factor in the very general opposition Asiatics have met with in different countries of the world. Active opposition appears in one division of society after the other, as competition, and especially unequal competition, extends to its field of economic activity.

---

[1] Editorial in the *Trade Register*, Seattle, Washington, September 5, 1914.

CHAPTER IV

THE JAPANESE IN AGRICULTURE IN WESTERN STATES OTHER THAN CALIFORNIA

Large Proportion of Japanese in Agricultural Pursuits. — Previous to 1908, when the volume of immigration was largest, the great majority of the Japanese found their first employment as railroad laborers, as agricultural laborers, or in domestic service, using the term in its broadest sense. Two fifths or more, it would seem, went from the boarding house to field or orchard. And among those who became railroad laborers and miners, there has always been a strong "back current" into agricultural pursuits, especially in California. At the present time perhaps not far from one half of those gainfully occupied are agricultural laborers, gardeners or farmers, at least part of the year. In this branch of human endeavor their greatest contributions have been made, and incidental to their activities as farmers in California an acute situation has recently developed.

Reasons for This. — The favor with which agricultural employment is regarded by the Japanese is easily explained. Most of those who have immigrated came from the farms of their native land. Every race shows a tendency sooner or later to rise in the adopted country to the position occupied at home, and the more ambitious and capable the race the stronger is this tendency. It has been very strong among the Japanese immigrants, who have great respect for agriculture. In Japan the farmer has been ranked higher than his fellow man engaged in trade or industry. Because of the meagerness of natural resources and the necessity of the most careful husbandry, the agricultural arts, in so far as labor and scientific application are concerned, have been highly developed. So, here in the adopted country, agriculture has carried with it station in life and has given opportunity for the application of the best-developed arts possessed by the race. Coöperating with these facts, it is in certain branches of agriculture that the best remuneration is to be earned by the laborer, for frequently he has an opportunity to work by the piece. Moreover, it leaves him the greatest amount of initiative and frees him more than other fields of employment from rule of thumb and close supervision, which are distasteful to him. Finally, field, garden, and orchard have held forth to him the best promise of establishing his independence, for it is easier for the average Japanese to escape the wage relation by becoming a farmer than in any other way.

Much is to be said concerning the Japanese as agricultural laborers and farmers in California. There is something of interest and importance, however, to be said concerning them in these connections in Oregon, Washington, Idaho, Utah, and Colorado. It will be most convenient to review the situation in these five states first of all and then to deal with that in California in greater detail.

Progress in Idaho. — In Idaho, Utah, and Colorado the Japanese began their operations not long ago as handworkers in the sugar-beet fields. With this as a beginning, they have made some advance. Yet at present their agricultural operations are connected chiefly with the growing of sugar beets, potatoes, tomatoes, cabbages, and garden truck, all of which represent intensive agriculture and involve much hand labor. The beet-sugar industry in Idaho dates from 1903, when the factory at Idaho Falls was opened. At present there are three factories; the acreage of beets harvested in 1913 was 18,108. From the beginning the company operating these factories has brought Japanese to the communities to do much if not most of the work in the fields. In 1909, it was paying a "contractor" $1 per acre for each acre worked by Japanese laborers, plus 35 cents per acre to defray part of the cost of transporting laborers to the community. The laborers were distributed among the growers as needed, and for the handwork were paid $20 per acre for beets running twelve tons to the acre, with a reduction of 50 cents for each ton under twelve and an addition of 60 cents per ton for each ton over twelve. The Japanese were regarded as necessary to the industry, but were adversely criticized by their employers as prone to take advantage of a bargain. The situation has not greatly changed since 1909. The transportation subsidy of 35 cents per acre has been eliminated and "bosses" have changed, but the Japanese do a good share of the handwork, the remuneration is the same, and the adverse criticism has not changed. Yet the situation is not altogether unchanged. More of the beets have been grown by the Japanese as farmers on their own account, and they have advanced somewhat so that they do more of the work with teams. In 1909 Japanese farmers tilled 4,922 acres of beets; in 1913 they tilled 7,773 acres or between 35 and 40 per cent of the entire crop.[1] This is the principal crop grown by them, but some 10,380 acres were devoted to other things. The figure corresponding to this in 1909 was 2,150.

In Utah. — What has been said concerning sugar-beet growing in Idaho, might, with no important amendment, be said of sugar-beet growing in Utah. In one community the industry has from the first taken its place as a part of general agriculture and the handwork has been done by "white" farmers and their "white" farm help. But there are now seven sugar factories in Utah, and in all of the contributory communities save the one, immigrant labor, and that Japanese, has from the first played an important part in the handwork. There has been no noteworthy change since the Immigration Commission made its extensive investigation five years ago, unless it is in the increasing acreage of beets grown by Japanese. The total acreage of beets planted in Utah in 1914 was approximately 40,000. The acreage planted by Japanese in 1914 was 4,490. In 1910 it was 3,862.[1] But here again, the increased acreage of other crops is the only important superficial fact to be noted. In 1910 Japanese farmers had 2,159 acres not devoted to the production of sugar beets. Their total acreage is now possibly 9,000.

---

[1] From data furnished by the consul at Portland. This includes some tenures excluded by the Census Bureau, which (Bulletin 127) gives a total acreage for the Japanese in 1910 of only 2,812, of which 750 were devoted to the production of sugar beets.

In Colorado. — And, save for the German Russians and Mexicans as competing laborers and growers, the same things might be said with little qualification of the Japanese and the beet-sugar industry in Colorado. In 1909 the Japanese hand laborers numbered some 2,627 in a total of more than 15,000, but because of their greater industry and efficiency — especially as compared with the Mexicans and the German Russian women and children — they did considerably more than one fifth of the handwork. The situation is not materially different to-day. In some communities they are few and of no consequence in the labor supply; in others they do most of the work. In the growing of beets, however, they have made a little advance. In 1909 their acreage was 10,839. In 1914 it was 13,079.[2] But here, again, the land held by Japanese and devoted to the production of other things than sugar beets indicates the important change which has taken place. The acreage in 1909 was something over 6,852.[1] In 1914 it had increased to 12,700.[2]

---

[1] Census Bulletin 127.

[2] According to an investigation recently made by the Japanese Association of Colorado. The figures reported for 1909 and 1914 include a large number of contracts not included under leases as the term is employed by the Census Bureau.

In Colorado the Japanese are growing a great many cabbages and tomatoes as well as sugar beets. In Utah they are growing these and a considerable amount of garden truck for the Salt Lake City market. In Idaho the newest and best land is devoted to the production of potatoes, most of the other to seed peas and beets. The situation as I found it north of Denver, around Brighton, Fort Lupton, and other towns along the Union Pacific Railroad as far north as Greeley, is pretty much the same as in other parts of Colorado, in Utah, and in Idaho. A statement of facts observed in these Colorado communities will serve for the three states.

---

[1] This figure, taken from the report of the Immigration Commission, does not include a small acreage in one district not visited by the agents.

[2] The following summary table has been provided by the Secretary of the Japanese Association of Colorado. The figures are for the year 1914.

Crop	Acres Leased for Cash	Acres Leased on Shares	Acres Owned
Sugar beets	3,435	9,394	250
Wheat	1,390	2,394	110
Cantaloupes	635	1,381	—
Hay (chiefly alfalfa) . .	2,433	2,424	20
Cabbages	730	750	50
Vegetables	150	240	50
Fruit	2	13	—
Pasture	10	15	3
Totals	8,785	16,511	483

Observations in Colorado. — The Japanese are almost all tenant farmers with one-year leases. Some are paying cash rent, others a share of the crop. Most of the tenants now provide most of the equipment needed. Nearly all are growing crops requiring intensive cultivation and a moderate amount of irrigation. White farmers grow the same crops to a very considerable extent, though the Japanese have come to be known as the chief growers of cabbages and tomatoes for the canneries. Their land is well tilled, and they are regarded as good farmers. Here and there several adjacent farms are tenanted by Japanese; in other cases their farms are widely scattered. In some cases the tenant has only a part of the farm, as, for example, that devoted to the production of beets. He then ordinarily occupies a house built for the "hired help" or a tenant. This is frequently if not usually a fairly substantial cottage. The Chinese were never employed in this part of Colorado and the familiar California bunk house is entirely unknown. In numerous cases, however, the Japanese tenant leases an entire farm, and, if so, he ordinarily occupies the regular farmhouse. In these cases the farm has generally come into the possession of some one already living elsewhere or the owner has moved into Denver. There are some instances, however, where the farmer has rented the entire farm but still continues to live on it. The Japanese families have replaced white families to a certain extent.

High Rents Paid. — Little of the farming by Japanese, except in the growing of sugar beets, is a matter of convenience in getting the handwork done. The chief factor explaining the extensive leasing is found in the high rents the Japanese tenants are willing to pay. They are the highest bidders for land. Some years ago the competition among would-be tenants was so keen that an organization was formed at Fort Lupton which then fixed a maximum rental for land to be devoted to the production of sugar beets. Nor is this control entirely a matter of the past. The eagerness of the Japanese to establish themselves as farmers still results in high rents.

Tenant Farming and a Home. House and Field Work. — One reason why the Japanese are so anxious to gain control of land is that they wish to establish a home for the family. Nearly all of these tenant farmers are married and have their families with them. The wives do much work in the fields. In some cases the housework is sadly neglected and the tenant farmers permit the houses to deteriorate. That is true of almost any community, however, and one finds an equal number of places where the houses are neatly furnished and well taken care of. On the whole the Japanese are as well if not better housed than the German Russians who have made great headway as farmers in Colorado, their wives do no more if as much of the work in the fields, and the Japanese standard of living, which is not a low one, appears to be the higher of the two.

Toleration. — Though adverse criticism can be found — and it can be of any incoming race —

there is no pronounced opposition to the Japanese as farmers. They are tolerated just as they are tolerated as laborers. General opposition once prevailed against them in the fruit-growing section of western Colorado; in Denver it was strongly organized and carried farther than in any large city save San Francisco. But here, with comparatively few Japanese seeking employment, the opposition even in union labor circles seems to have very largely disappeared.

In the agricultural communities of Colorado the Japanese are tolerated and with no general complaint. They are welcomed as tenants. But they live in rather than as a part of these communities. Of intercourse between the races there is little. Most of the Japanese women cannot yet speak English, and most of their children are too young to attend school. The Japanese deal with others freely, but their social life is their own. What further will result from toleration and business relations remains to be seen.

Hired Help. — Before turning to the Northwest, a word should be said concerning the laborers employed by Japanese farmers. Much hired help is needed in cultivation and harvesting, and naturally the preference of the farmers is for men of their own race. But such labor has become relatively scarce. It commands from $2 to $2.50 per day. More and more laborers of other races are being employed by Japanese farmers, and especially the lower-priced Mexicans who are found in increasing numbers in Northern Colorado.

Japanese in Agriculture in Washington. — Turning to the Northwest, Washington presents an experience with Japanese agriculture second in interest only to that of California. Seattle and Tacoma, with a large urban population and with a big advantage over other ports in shipping supplies to Alaska, afford an excellent market for potatoes, berries, and garden and dairy products. This opportunity has been embraced by an increasing number of Japanese, some of them attracted from the city, more of them from the lumber mill and the railroad where the members of this race have found employment in large numbers upon their arrival in Seattle or their advent from Canada. With a total Japanese adult male population of perhaps 10,000 in 1913, about one fourth of them were engaged in agricultural pursuits, at least a part of the year.[1]

Have Little Influence on General Market for Farm Labor. — Though the Japanese formerly underbid white laborers for farm work[2] and though some have been employed in the fields and dairies conducted by other races, most of the Japanese working as farm laborers have always been employed in handwork by farmers of their own race. The history of Japanese farm labor is almost an incident in Japanese farming. They have never cut a figure in the agricultural labor market. Washington, unlike California, had no industries built upon Chinese labor which felt a need for Japanese as the Chinese disappeared.

---

[1] The number of farmers is estimated in 1914 as 715, of regular farm hands, 568.

[2] See Immigration Commission, Reports, Vol. 24, pp. 510–511.

Tenant Farming. — The first farm in Washington leased by a Japanese was in 1892, but it was not until some fifteen years ago, when many began to arrive at Seattle, that more than a few farms came under their control. In 1910, according to the Census, there were 316 farms with a total acreage of 9,412, leased by Japanese.[1] In 1913 the number of farms leased was about 560; the acreage had increased to 16,000 or 17,000.[2] All of the land farmed in Washington by Japanese is leased. Dairy land is ordinarily leased for a period of five years, other land for shorter periods, the length of the lease depending more or less upon the crop or crops grown. That no agricultural land is owned by the members of this race is explained by a clause in the state constitution, which prevents aliens who have not declared their intention to become citizens of the United States from owning land to be devoted to agriculture (or almost any other purpose). The restrictive clause, it should be noted, was adopted before there was any problem of Asiatic immigration in Washington.

Character of Japanese Farming. — Nearly all of the Japanese farming is of the intensive type, requiring much care and handwork.[3] It is of the

[1] Census Bulletin 127, p. 44.

[2] Since the above was written the Secretary of the Japanese Association reports that in 1914 there are 586 farms leased for cash, with a total acreage of 16,123. There are a very few share tenants.

[3] Of 3,454 acres of improved land in Kings County reported by the Census (Bulletin 127), 983 were devoted to the production of strawberries, bush berries, and potatoes.

kind the market places a premium upon, but which the ordinary American farmer is slow to engage in. Most of it is carried on within hauling distance of Seattle and Tacoma or the small shipping stations located between those cities.[1] Here and there, in different parts of the state, however, a few farms are to be found. Small numbers of farms are found along the Columbia River (across from Hood River, Oregon), for example, in the Wenatchee Valley, and about Everett and Bellingham, but they are unimportant from every point of view.

Japanese in Public Markets of Seattle. — The public markets of Seattle are in some if not in all respects the most interesting of any in the West. The one on Pike Street affords the widest selection of foodstuffs vended at the lowest prices found in any of the dozen or more markets visited by the writer during the year. Here are some four hundred stalls, with stores in the background. Some three hundred of the four hundred stalls are occupied by Japanese producers. They sell nearly all the berries and the larger part of the green vegetables. In the vegetable market, however, they compete with a considerable number of Italian growers who formerly predominated in this kind of farming. The other white growers are selling fruit, turnips, and the like. The low prices have resulted from the great abundance of produce grown. While they are a good thing from the point of view of the purchaser, the growers cannot do otherwise than complain, as they complained five years ago, that the increasing number of Japanese gardeners has resulted in an undue expansion of vegetable growing. Many purchasers, it is said, favor the Japanese growers in the market, not that there is any underselling, but because of the personal interest they appear to take in those who patronize them.

---

[1] Of 7,005 acres of improved land held by the Japanese, 2,454 acres were in Kings County. Most of the rest was in Pierce County.

Predominate in Some Branches of Production. — The Japanese now predominate in the growing of certain kinds of vegetables and strawberries. From this it is not to be concluded, however, that the number of other growers has actually diminished. The truth is that the Japanese growers have increased in number and acreage most rapidly with the expanding market at hand.[1]

Industry and Efficiency Shown. — The gardens of the Japanese bear witness to the industry, intelligence, and efficiency of the race. The quality of the produce is good. Much of the land has been taken as left by the timbermen, the stumps removed, and reduced to cultivation by the Japanese tenants. They have done much to develop the agricultural

---

[1] The Census Bureau (Bulletin 127) publishes the following figures for 1910 for Kings and Pierce counties. Of course the figures have changed considerably during the last four years.

CROP	JAPANESE ACREAGE	TOTAL ACREAGE
Strawberries	421	1,277
Other berries	77	1,043
Potatoes	858	6,972
Other vegetables	717	3,467

possibilities of these communities — more undoubtedly than any other race has shown an inclination to do. From potatoes as the first crop, this land has sooner or later been converted into vegetable gardens. But other gardens have been developed from land which had been devoted to general farming, and a few have been taken over from others who had been growing vegetables.

Disinclination of Owners to Lease. — The progress of Japanese as tenants has been made in spite of the disinclination on the part of some landowners to lease to them. The disinclination has gradually given way, however, because of the advantages owners have found in leasing their land.[1] The Japanese have proved to be good farmers, many of them have been willing to clear land and reduce it to cultivation at great expense, and they have been willing to pay relatively high rents. Rents have risen greatly within the last ten years or so and the competition of Japanese for land has not been the least important factor in it. But to this we shall recur later.

Japanese Dairy Farming. — Dairy farming in the White River Valley has recently proved to be very attractive to the Japanese. In 1909 they operated some fifteen dairies. The number at present is 85, but this is still only a small percentage of the entire number contributing to the market in Seattle and Tacoma and to the condensing plants. These farms are, as a rule, rented for five-year periods, stocked with from twenty-five to two hundred cows, and operated by Japanese labor. Most of these farmers have served their apprenticeship as milkers. With their savings put by they pay a part of the purchase price; the remainder is met by loans obtained from the banks of the White River Valley upon chattel mortgages given. Most of the equipment is, of course, provided by the landowner. About two acres of land is rented for each cow in the herd. Much of the feed required is grown upon the farms, and frequently a part of the land is sublet for the growing of vegetables for the market.

---

[1] See Immigration Commission, Reports, Vol. 24, pp. 508–509. Recently this same disinclination has been evidenced, I am reliably informed, farther north along Puget Sound.

While investigating the farms about Seattle in August, I visited several of these dairy farms. The equipment varied greatly in quality so far as it was provided by the landowner. The herds were excellent and the dairies were in sanitary condition. Most of the farmers showed much pride in their stock.

Rents Paid. — The rent paid for dairy lands varies from $10 to $30, but is most frequently about $25 per acre. Where the lower figure obtains, some parts of the land are usually to be cleared and reduced to cultivation as a part of the consideration. A few years ago this land rented for $6 to $8 per acre, so the Japanese say. The competition among them for leases has been the greatest factor in causing the increase indicated. Some of the tenants complain that the landowners take advantage of them and demand a higher rent when their leases are about to expire and they have their herds to provide for or to dispose of. Be this as it may, the Japanese Association is trying to control the competition for land and to prevent unduly high rentals. It is trying to eliminate competition among tenants by preventing others from bidding for land on which the lease is about to expire until the lessee decides that he does not want it longer. But the rent remains high nevertheless, and the Japanese farmers are seeking land near Everett and in other localities where the price per acre is much lower. In the opinion of the writer, the relation between Japanese tenancy and relatively high rents is the most significant thing connected with the situation in the Northwest. It is all the more significant for it is one of the well-nigh universal facts. The Japanese have been the highest bidders for land.

The living conditions of the Japanese vary from the relatively good to bad. Of course taken as a whole, they do not compare favorably with those of the well-established native, German, and Scandinavian farmers. They are perhaps somewhat inferior to those of the Italians, most of whom have been living in the communities for a longer time. In some cases the landowner has for years lived elsewhere than on the farm. Others have rather recently pocketed the high rent paid and moved to Seattle, Bellingham or elsewhere. In either case the Japanese occupy the "white house," and this has been followed by neglect in painting and making needed repairs. In the majority of cases, however, the Japanese tenant does not occupy a house vacated by a white family, but lives in the unpretentious cottage built for the "hired help" or for him, or in a "shack" built by the tenant himself of lumber furnished by the landlord. Hence most of the living quarters are poor.

Much the same may be said of the housekeeping and the care of the premises. Some of the houses are comfortably furnished and well-kept; a majority are not. Most of the tenant farmers are married, but their wives usually do much work in the gardens and fields. Outdoor labor is frequently engaged in at the expense of the housework, for the Japanese farmer is almost always overwhelmed with work.

Hired Help and Wages. — Most of the laborers hired by the Japanese farmers are of their own race, and most of the Japanese agricultural laborers are working for their fellow countrymen. Laborers have become scarce, and wages have risen from $1.35 per day without board for regular work and $1.50 for seasonal work, in 1909, to $1.75 and $2 per day. Milkers in 1909 were most frequently paid $40 or $45 per month. Their wages now range from $55 to $75, but the most usual figure is $60 per month.

The Situation in Oregon. — The situation in Oregon is very similar to that in Washington. For ten years there has been a movement away from railway labor to employment on the farms. Yet the Japanese have never been an important element in the agricultural labor supply, and the relatively low wages which formerly prevailed did not noticeably alter the opportunities of others to secure employment at the wages they were able to earn.[1] Though at present some Japanese are employed in the hop fields and a considerable number as pickers and packers of apples in the Hood River orchards, most of them are employed on farms operated by their countrymen. Altogether the number employed as wage earners on farms is not large enough to be of any importance.

Farm Statistics. — According to data supplied by the consul stationed at Portland, the Japanese in 1913 operated in Oregon 172 farms with a total acreage of 6,477, of which they owned 2,793. The acreage farmed in 1910, according to the Census, was 4,608.[2] The difference in acreage thus shown is believed to indicate fairly accurately the progress made during the three years.

Character of Farming. — Most of the Japanese farms are within twenty miles or so of Portland, where they number some 100, about Hood River, where there are 56 or 57, and at The Dalles. In the several localities about Portland they engage chiefly in the growing of berries, potatoes, cabbage, melons, and vegetables, and in the raising of hogs, but some general farming is carried on also. Relatively they are not less important as growers of vegetables than they are about Seattle; the one model dairy formerly conducted has been discontinued. About Hood River most of the Japanese are developing apple orchards and while doing so are engaged in growing strawberries. About The Dalles, the land purchased by a large corporation is chiefly devoted to extensive agriculture, wheat being the most important crop. Taking the state as a whole, the nature of the farming carried on is shown by the following figures obtained from the Japanese Consul. They relate to the year 1913.

---

[1] See Immigration Commission, Reports, Vol. 24, pp. 311–322, with reference to the history of Japanese in agriculture in Oregon to 1909.

[2] Bulletin 127 (1914).

KIND OF CROP	ACREAGE
Hay	867
Wheat	707
Potatoes	853
Berries	957
Vegetables	858
Fruits, onions, beans, etc.	536
Hops	140
Pasture	201
Unimproved	1,358

Scientific Knowledge as well as Industry Applied. — Except for the overproduction of strawberries, Japanese farming has had no adverse effect upon the market. Their farming is of a good type. As tenants, it is said, they generally improve the land, while white tenants, now few in these communities — as a rule permit the land to deteriorate. A rather large percentage of them apply scientific knowledge as well as industry to the work in hand. One of the most interesting instances is found in the raising of pigs, garbage being hauled from Portland and prepared as an important element in the feed used. One of the five engaged in this business was visited. A graduate of one of the foremost universities of his native land, he was found breeding and feeding swine in the light of the best scientific knowledge and to be making a success of the venture. His herd numbered between 500 and 600 head.

Reduction of Wild Land to Cultivation. — While fully developed lands have been leased in some cases, no small part of the acreage now controlled by the Japanese in Oregon has been "taken wild" and reduced to cultivation. This is especially true in the vicinity of Hood River, where they now own some 1,100 acres and lease about 500 more. Here nearly all of the land has been taken as left by the loggers, and with much hard work and at great expense (it costs $100 to $150 per acre to clear it) has been or is being transformed into apple orchards. Their contribution to the community — with its 13,000 acres of orchard — is no small one. While the orchards are being developed, strawberries are usually grown between the rows of young trees. From the berries placed upon the market and their earnings as pickers and packers in the neighboring orchards, these farmers have been tiding themselves over the long years until their orchards begin to bear.

High Rents and High Prices. — In Oregon, as elsewhere, the Japanese, eager to establish themselves, have paid high prices for land purchased and high rentals for that leased. As in Washington and elsewhere in the West, land values are really too high for those who would buy for the purpose of farming. Of course the Japanese have had little to do with this situation, for their numbers have been too small. In some localities, however, the level of rents has been affected by their competition for land. As the Immigration Commission reported:

> "The effect of the competition of the Japanese has been to cause rents to rise in several of the localities near Portland. Where cash rents now paid by the Japanese are from $6 to $40, they were from $4 to $15 before the members of that race began to lease. When many prospective tenants appeared in a locality, the landowners raised the rents because the credit of the Japanese was limited, and, it is said, because as tenants they would pay whatever sum was asked. Consequently some of the farmers have found it more profitable to rent their land than to farm it on their own account." [1]

Housing. — In the localities about Portland some Japanese holdings have been made by subdivision of the land, and the houses occupied are small cottages built by or for them. In other cases the entire farm has been leased, the premises along with the land. There seems to be no tendency on the part of white families to move away from the community because of the mere presence of the Japanese, but there are instances where the white families who own the land live in Portland or elsewhere because of the availability of the Japanese as tenants. About Hood River some of the Japanese occupy the rather rude "box houses" or log houses of a couple of rooms built for them or by themselves as more or less temporary quarters. These shelters are not particularly different from the houses occupied by others who make a rude start on land to be cleared. The only important difference is that many of the Japanese, but few white families, are willing to begin their farming in this way. How long before these shelters give way to others more in keeping with the standard set in a normal community remains to be seen.

---

[1] Immigration Commission, Reports, Vol. 24, p. 239.

Housekeeping and Field Work. — Nothing in the living arrangements of the Japanese farmers of Oregon differs from that found elsewhere. The furnishings are nearly all American, and some of the houses are very well furnished. The Japanese agent of the Immigration Commission reported that in most instances the housekeeping was bad. At that time, however, most of the farmers were single men or did not have their families with them. Now in almost four fifths of the cases there is a wife and the housework is more carefully done. In some cases it must be said, however, that it is still neglected for work in the fields — for farming among the Japanese is a workaday life, and the wives are generally expected to take a more or less regular part in it.

Wages have become High. — Japanese farm labor has become high-priced. In the early days it was very low; then for several years the wages were about the same as paid section hands, advancing from $1.10 to $1.50 per day. About Hood River $2 per day is now paid for ordinary work; fruit packers receive 25 or 50 cents more. To earn these wages some 250 Japanese immigrate to Hood River for the harvest. Wages elsewhere are at other seasons proportionately high. According to data supplied by the Japanese Consul, the average income per month of agricultural laborers, taking the entire state, was $52 per month in 1913.

No Strong Opposition to Japanese in Oregon.—In Oregon there has never been any strong opposition to the Japanese. Perhaps this is closely connected with the fact that they have never numbered as many as 4,000 all told. The estimated number, December, 1913, was 3,672. Be the cause of the comparative absence of opposition what it may, the labor unions in Portland have made little effort to arouse opposition to them and the little effort made has had little effect. In the country the farmers have occasionally grumbled somewhat, but there has not been any organized or general opposition. Recently, however, the State Grange adopted a hostile resolution, but this was the result of the suggestion of a visiting delegate from the Labor Council of Portland. In general there is a spirit of toleration and in some instances there is visiting back and forth between Japanese and Americans. At Hood River was found as favorable an opinion as was met with anywhere. Occasionally, it is said, some one complains somewhat of Japanese land purchases but it is not taken seriously. The Secretary of the Chamber of Commerce, coming from California five years ago, commended them highly and ranked them above the Greeks and Italians in point of desirability. Hood River is one of the few places found where the Japanese were not discriminated against in the barber shops, restaurants, and the like. There the Japanese patronize the "white" barber shops and lodging houses; they have none of their own. Absence of opposition is appreciated by the Japanese. More than one farmer stated that he had come there from Seattle or California because there was no friction.

CHAPTER V

THE JAPANESE AS AGRICULTURAL LABORERS IN CALIFORNIA

"Japanese Problem" centers in California and in Agriculture. — The "Japanese problem" centers in California, and presumably in the agricultural communities, for that state has always had considerably more than one half of the Japanese population of the United States, and more than one half of the number residing there, have been engaged in agricultural pursuits. In December, 1913, the Japanese-American Yearbook stated that of 42,089 men gainfully occupied, 23,607 were agricultural laborers or farmers. The true proportion was no doubt much larger than that indicated, for during the summer months many leave their work elsewhere to take employment on the farms. As a result of his investigations four years ago, the California Commissioner of Labor reported that sixty-five per cent of those gainfully occupied were engaged in agriculture as laborers or farmers. Fifteen per cent were engaged in domestic service and related activities, an equal percentage were engaged in business or were employed by their countrymen who were thus engaged, and the remaining five per cent were employed in miscellaneous occupations. The acreage of land owned, leased, or worked on contract — a form of tenancy — by Japanese in California in 1913 was 281,687.[1]

California Labor Commissioner's Investigation. — The exact position now occupied by the Japanese agricultural laborers cannot be set forth with statistical accuracy. The decreasing number of adult Japanese in the state and the advance of a considerable number to the ranks of farmers on their own account have made some readjustments and substitutions necessary since 1909–10, when the California Labor Commissioner made an extended investigation of farm labor. Nevertheless in most respects the situation has not changed greatly, and some of the data presented by that official in his Fourteenth Biennial Report give a good point of departure in discussing the Japanese problem in so far as it is connected with agricultural labor.

Japanese Labor, by Crops Grown. — The investigations made by the Commissioner embraced 2,369 farms operated by white farmers (these being taken in largest numbers from those parts of the state where intensive agriculture was most extensively practiced) and 1,733 operated by Japanese farmers, as owners or tenants. On the 2,369 farms operated by white farmers, the percentage of labor furnished by the Japanese, according to the principal crops grown, was as follows:[2]

[1] According to the Japanese-American Yearbook for 1913.

[2] These percentages were presented in the Commissioner's summary report supplied to the press. The statistical tables and a graphic presentation may be found (p. 270) in his Fourteenth Biennial Report.

Berries,	87.2 per cent	Citrus fruits,	38.1 per cent
Sugar beets,	66.3 per cent	Hops,	8.7 per cent
Nursery products,	57.3 per cent	Deciduous fruits,	36.5 per cent
Grapes,	51.7 per cent	Hay and grain,	6.6 per cent
Vegetables,	45.7 per cent	Miscellaneous,	19.6 per cent

Employed in Intensive Farming. — It is evident from these percentages that the Japanese were employed chiefly in the growing and harvesting of crops finding a place in intensive agriculture. Their importance in these was even greater than the percentages indicate, for the table does not include Japanese farms, practically all of which were devoted to this type of farming. Of the 17,784 persons employed on the 1,733 Japanese farms included in the investigation, 96 per cent were Japanese. Thus the true percentage of the Japanese laborers on farms devoted to vegetables, berries, and deciduous fruits — the important crops grown on the farms operated by that race of farmers — were somewhat larger than those given above. As the Immigration Commission, investigating farm labor at the same time, summarized the situation:

> "The Japanese have been employed in practically all of the intensive branches of agriculture in California. In the beet industry they number 4,500 of between 6,000 and 7,000 hand workers employed during the thinning season. They predominate and control the handwork in the beet fields of all except three districts in the state — two in southern California, where they are outnumbered by the Mexicans, and one northern district, where they do not care to work and Hindus were the most numerous race employed in 1909.

In the grape picking of the various parts of California, they are also the most numerous race, some 7,000 or 8,000 being employed during the busiest season of a few weeks in the fall. They do practically all of the work in the berry patches of the state. In the various districts specializing in certain vegetables and on truck farms near the cities they do much of the work. Much of the seasonal work in most of the deciduous fruit districts is also controlled by Japanese laborers." [1]

The United States Census shows that it is just these crops in which the Japanese were chiefly employed in which California, circumstanced as she has been by soil, climate, labor supply, and market facilities, has specialized more and more extensively. The following table shows the value of these crops, and of all others combined, for 1899 and 1909.[2]

Crop	Value, 1899	Value, 1909	Per cent of Increase
Sugar beets	$1,554,134	$4,335,358	179.0
Potatoes, etc.	2,773,140	5,235,073	88.8
Vegetables	2,858,832	6,886,885	140.9
Flowers and nursery products	1,138,975	3,601,301	216.2
Small fruits	911,411	1,789,214	96.3
Seeds	191,293	800,758	318.6
Fruits and nuts	28,809,830	48,917,655	69.8
Totals of above	$38,237,615	$71,666,244	87.4
Totals of all others . .	57,128,097	81,444,769	42.6
Grand totals	$95,365,712	$153,111,013	61.6

---

[1] Immigration Commission, Reports, Vol. 23, p. 64.

[2] Compiled from Census, Abstract with Supplement for California, p. 631.

Occupations. — One more bit of statistical evidence may be introduced from the report of the Commissioner of Labor.[1] In so far as the Japanese were employed by white farmers, they were engaged for the most part in the least desirable occupations — as is evidenced by the following statistics:

Occupation	White Persons Employed by White Farmers Employing Whites Only	White Persons Employed by White Farmers Employing Whites and Japanese	Japanese Employed by White Farmers Employing Whites and Japanese	Percentage of Japanese Employed by Farmers Employing both Classes
Berry pickers. . .	—	99	344	77.6
Vegetable pickers .	34	77	150	66.1
Celery cutters . .	—	20	111	84.7
Fruit pickers . . .	3,044	2,280	4,814	67.9
Fruit cutters . . .	780	1,934	33	1.7
Pitters	606	559	—	.0
Dryers	181	218	15	6.5
Kilnmen	41	101	—	.0
Packers	109	797	449	36.0
Grape pickers . .	1,660	669	4,722	87.6
Pruners	214	506	1,889	78.9
Hop pickers . . .	2,646	3,831	741	16.2
Hoers and thinners	12	—	1,054	100.0
Hoers	409	280	729	72.2
Toppers and loaders	16	16	1,229	98.7
Irrigators . . .	10	5	48	90.6
Weeders	—	4	94	95.9
Cultivators . . .	81	536	137	20.4
Farm hands . . .	2,131	2,703	2,176	44.6
Harvest hands . .	305	65	150	69.8
Laborers	116	300	1,343	81.7
Teamsters . . .	340	1,749	10	.6
Firemen	22	32	—	.0
Foremen	48	144	22	13.3
Total males . . .	10,703	12,680	21,558	63.0
Total females . .	2,458	3,784	144	3.7
Grand totals . .	13,161	16,464	21,702	56.9

---

[1] California Commissioner of Labor, Fourteenth Biennial Report, p. 270 (inserted folder).

Thus the Japanese were engaged chiefly in picking berries and grapes, pruning trees and vines, thinning and hoeing, topping and loading sugar beets, weeding and doing harvest work — all of it handwork, much of it of the "stoop over" or "squat" variety, all of it seasonal in character and giving but brief employment on a given farm and in a given community, and much of it dirty and arduous. As "cultivators" and "farm hands" they occupied a subordinate position; as teamsters they were negligible. On the farms operated by Japanese, of course, more of the desirable tasks fell to their lot, but even there much of the work with teams was done by the white landowner or by his regular hands, most of them white men.

Questions. — With this general background, an explanation of the development of this situation may be undertaken. To what extent had laborers of other races been displaced? On what terms had the Japanese and other races competed for employment? To what extent was Japanese labor supplementary to that of other races? To what extent had it created the opportunities which it embraced? These questions can be answered with some degree of satisfaction as a result of the extensive investigation made by the Immigration Commission in 1909. Its summary reports will be freely quoted in this connection. Here and there its summary statements will he expanded.[1]

---

[1] The quotations which follow are from the summary report of the Immigration Commission, Vol. 23, pp. 60 *et seq.*

Entry of Japanese made Easy by Former Employment of Chinese. — "The Japanese were first employed in agricultural work in California about 1887. The entry and subsequent extensive employment of Japanese in the farming districts of this state was made easy, because of the previous employment of Chinese. In many parts of the state the Chinese had predominated for years, so that the restrictions on their immigration paved the way to the extensive employment of Japanese, who soon adapted themselves so as to fit into the Chinese system of labor and living conditions. Among other things they adopted the Chinese 'boss' system. At first the Japanese worked in small unorganized groups, but as their numbers increased and they were more extensively employed, they soon became organized into 'gangs' under leaders or bosses. Though individuals move rather freely from one group to another, this form of organization has been important in explaining the advance made by the Japanese in agriculture as in other industries."

In short, they were conveniently secured. Many farmers faced the practical problem of finding substitutes for the disappearing Chinese, who had shaped their investments and methods.

Beginnings and Progress. — "One of the first of the agricultural districts in which the Japanese found employment was the Vaca Valley, where four came in the winter of 1887–8. In 1890 four Japanese went to Fresno, and the following year 30 found work there in the vineyards. In 1891 they first sought employment in the Newcastle fruit district. In 1892, 13 Japanese were employed as hop pickers in the Pajaro Valley. They appeared also in the Lower Sacramento and San Joaquin River country, and in the Marysville and Suisun districts in the early nineties. In the early nineties the members of this race gained a foothold in the beet fields of the state. After once securing work, the number of Japanese in a district increased rapidly, and they found employment on more and more ranches, especially while the immigration was at its height — from 1899 to 1906. They were later in entering agricultural work in southern California than in the northern part of the state. This was due largely to the fact that the districts of the south had been more recently developed, and that few Chinese, whom the Japanese followed in agricultural work in the north, had been employed there. Japanese were just beginning to find employment in the citrus fruit industry in 1900, and their employment in most localities of importance in citrus fruit growing dates from 1903 or 1904. Large numbers of the first Japanese brought to the southern part of the state were employed on the railroads, from which most of them were discharged in favor of Mexicans about 1902. The discharged men drifted into farm work, in certain parts of which they predominated or constituted a large percentage in most districts in 1909.

Competitors of the Japanese. — "In some localities the Japanese laborers have merely made good the decrease in the number of Chinese due to natural causes, and supplied a part or all of the laborers needed for the expanding industries. In other localities there has been a net displacement of Chinese and white men engaged in certain agricultural occupations. The chief competitors with the Japanese in the handwork involved in sugar-beet growing are Mexicans, Chinese, Koreans, and Hindus. In fact, white men have never been employed to any great extent in this work. In other cases, as in the citrus and deciduous fruit industries in most of the localities in which these center, the competition is principally between white persons and Japanese.

Underbidding. — "In most localities the Japanese at first offered to work for less pay than any other race. Underbidding of white men was all but, if not quite universal, and of Chinese, previous to 1900, very general. Underbidding of the Chinese and white men was the method commonly used by Japanese for some years to gain a foothold in the various districts. In one community where the Chinese were paid $5 per week, the Japanese first worked for 35 or 40 cents per day in the early nineties. In another locality the price for work done by Japanese by contract was first estimated on a basis of 45 cents per day as against $1 for Chinese, and in the later nineties at day work Japanese were paid 75 to 90 cents per day where Chinese were paid $1. In a third district they were paid 70 cents per day, and for two or three years their wages varied from 60 to 90 cents as against $1.25 per day for Chinese and $1 per day, including board, for white men. Before the close of the nineties, however, the wages paid Japanese had begun to rise and the increase in their wages continued even when the influx of the members of this race was greatest. The continued rise in the wages of Japanese farm laborers during the years since 1900, when the number of immigrants of this race was largest, is explained by the employment of these laborers in more and more of the rapidly expanding agricultural districts and also the greater opportunity and employment offered them at better wages in other industries and in the Pacific Coast cities. They were also well organized under 'bosses,' which greatly aided them in securing work at the higher wages. The Chinese were decreasing in number and the better class of white men did not care to engage in the seasonal farm work when regular work could be found at good wages elsewhere. With prosperous times and an inadequate labor supply under prevailing conditions, with new opportunities opened for them, and especially with restrictions upon their further immigration, the wages of Japanese have increased more than 50 per cent within fifteen years and, especially since great restrictions were placed upon the further increase of their numbers, they have ceased to greatly underbid other laborers. Their organization has, in fact, been used in some instances to effect an increase in the prices paid for contract work.

Intensive Crops require much Seasonal Labor.—"That California should give employment to more Japanese farm laborers than the other states of the West is due mainly to the greater specialization of large districts in intensive agriculture and because they were convenient substitutes for the disappearing Chinese in those industries which had been built up with comparatively few white hand laborers. These intensive crops require large numbers of handworkers at certain stages in their production and it has been most difficult to secure these temporary laborers. The migratory Japanese have assumed such great importance in the agricultural districts of the state by supplying the greater part of this urgent demand for seasonal workers. They have been well adapted to the disagreeable handwork and have generally been secured at lower wages than white men. They have been convenient for ranchers to secure through 'bosses,' for they are well organized into 'gangs,' as has been described elsewhere in this report, while white men are not organized and so are more difficult to secure, and with Japanese available, few white ranchers have made any effort to find white men for such work. Like the Chinese, they have put up with poor living quarters and have boarded themselves, which has been a convenience and a saving to the ranchers. The prominence of Japanese in farm work has been confined mainly to temporary handwork, but in recent years they have become more firmly established in regular handwork also, principally on farms leased by their countrymen, but to a certain extent on farms conducted by white men as well."

Japanese as Seasonal Laborers. — The Commission then goes on to state that most of the Japanese farm laborers are seasonal workers, employed only during busy seasons in the production of crops involving much hand labor — work distasteful to the native-born and a large percentage of the European immigrants. Not only was most of the work done distasteful, partly because of its character, partly because it had been "tainted" by Asiatics, but an acute problem presented itself to the farmers of a community specializing in the growing of a few intensive crops in the shortage of local labor during the harvesting, and, in the growing of beets, during the hoeing and thinning season.

The problem as it presented itself in a few communities where found in most acute form is shown by the following details.[1]

The Labor Problem in Placer County. — The Newcastle district in Placer County, embracing 14,000 acres of foothill orchard land, produces cherries, peaches, pears, plums, grapes, and strawberries. Nearly all of the developed land is devoted to these crops and many laborers are needed for picking and packing the fruit for shipment. A compilation of the data secured from 46 orchardists gave the following number of laborers employed by them during the year:

Month	Number of Laborers Employed	Month	Number of Laborers Employed
January . . .	91	July	347
February . . .	98	August	284
March	99	September . . .	265
April	133	October	115
May	345	November . . .	76
June	378	December . . .	75

Along the Lower Sacramento. — Along the lower Sacramento the farmers specialize in growing beans, asparagus, and potatoes. Data secured from 84 farmers in three communities gave the following results. For single communities the variation would be greater.

---

[1] See Immigration Commission, Reports, Vol. 24, pp. 8–16.

Month	Number of Laborers Employed	Month	Number of Laborers Employed
January	438	July	1,111
February	689	August	693
March	1,017	September	626
April	1,215	October	595
May	1,320	November	437
June	1,337	December	433

In the Vaca Valley. — The Vaca Valley is devoted to deciduous fruit growing. "Of 1,143 employees on 19 ranches from which data were taken in this valley, 134 were employed regularly throughout the year, while 1,009 found employment only temporarily and irregularly for a period of 3 to 12 weeks during the harvest."[1] To meet the seasonal demand 2,000 or more laborers had to be secured from other places. The Watsonville and Fresno districts were similarly circumstanced. The beet fields and berry patches make heavy requirements for limited periods.

The Japanese and the Needs of Such Communities. — The organized, nomadic Japanese fitted well the needs of such communities as these. They, the Hindus and the Mexicans, and before them the Chinese, permitted the farmers to utilize to the full the opportunities presented by favorable soil and climate — and in advance of a large settled popula-

[1] Immigration Commission, cited above, p. 22.

tion. They fitted so much the better into this scheme of things because they were sheltered in the contracting "boss's camp," as in Southern California, or in the familiar bunk house on the ranch, and provided for their own subsistence. While less well liked than the Chinese because of their ambition to rise, because of occasional failure to live up to contract obligations, because of the use of organization to secure advances in wages, and because of the haste with which work was done on a piece basis, the farmers employing them in 1909 regarded them as fairly efficient in handwork and necessary to the successful prosecution of their undertakings.

Reference has been made to the underbidding formerly resorted to rather generally by the Japanese. It has been stated, also, that even before the present restrictions had been placed on immigration, their wages had risen until they approached the wages paid white laborers. Something further must be said concerning the wages paid the races competing for employment, for the statistical data available in numerous cases have been carelessly and improperly used.

Wage Data. — The investigations of the Immigration Commission leave no doubt of the underbidding which had obtained on the part of the Japanese. Though there had been an advance in wages, partly because of restrictions imposed in 1907 upon the further immigration of laborers, and the Japanese were no longer the cheap labor they had been, it was generally true in 1909 that they were paid somewhat less than white men where working on a day-wage basis. Underbidding for work to be done at piece rates or under contract had practically ceased, though some instances of it were still found, as here and there in the citrus-fruit industry in the southern part of the state.[1] But taking day wages only for comparison, the statement that "in most districts of the state there is a discrimination of about 25 cents per day in favor of white men as against Japanese and other Asiatics engaged in the same work, although in a few localities for seasonal work the day wages are the same for both classes of laborers"[2] was true in 1909. The discrimination directed especially against Japanese and East Indians was most noticeable and prevalent in the citrus-fruit industry.

"In Southern California nearly all of the white pickers and a large part of the Mexicans were, in 1909, paid $1.75 or $2 per day, while the Japanese were paid from $1.50 to $1.75. The Japanese usually received 25 cents less per day than white men, and as a rule, they worked longer hours. East Indians in one community received only $1.50 per day, while Japanese were paid $1.75 and white men $2. In the Tulare district the difference in wages was even greater. Of the 114 Japanese pickers reporting data in this district, 74 received $1.50 per day, and 40, $1.75, while 64 of the white pickers, not receiving board in addition to wages, earned $2 or $2.25 per day. In the Newcastle deciduous-fruit district in 1909 Japanese and white men as harvest laborers were paid practically the same wages, but East Indians received about 25 cents less per day. In the Vaca Valley for the regular work white men received slightly higher wages than the Japanese, the former in 1908 being paid from $1.50 to $2 per day, usually $1.50 or $1.60, while Japanese were paid from $1.35 to $1.50, and in exceptional cases $1.60. In picking fruit all races received the same pay, except East Indians who were paid about 25 cents less per day.

---

[1] Immigration Commission, Reports, Vol. 24, p. 42.

[2] *Ibid.*, Vol. 23, p. 66.

"In the Pajaro Valley the Dalmatians and other white persons engaged in the apple harvest received from $1.50 to $2 per day, while Japanese were paid $1.50. Most of the white persons received from 25 cents to 50 cents more per day than Japanese. For regular work in most of the agricultural communities of the state Japanese received less pay than white men or, if they were paid as much, it was usually because they worked longer hours or the work was especially irksome. In many districts, as has been indicated, the Japanese received less pay for harvest work than did white men, but in other communities all races received the same wages for similar work. In one or two exceptional cases, however, Japanese harvest laborers have been paid more than white help. One instance of this was during the prune harvest in the Santa Clara Valley in 1910, when Japanese were paid $2 per day. This resulted from the dependence of this industry for years upon Japanese labor, so that the scarcity of Japanese workers in 1910 enabled those present to demand much higher wages than formerly, and the growers were not prepared to meet the demands by bringing in white labor to compete with the Japanese, and white men did not seek this work voluntarily, as the growers had been employing Japanese almost exclusively for years." [1]

It should be added, however, that most of the Italians investigated were employed by their countrymen and were paid as little, if not less, than the Japanese.

Lower Wages of Japanese Explained. — The differences in wages indicated are not to be explained by substantial differences in efficiency. In most instances the Japanese were regarded as better than "the class of white men available for such work." [2] It did measure substantially the difference in the cost of subsistence, which for Japanese was reckoned at 20 to 30 cents per day, while for white men it was from 50 to 75 cents per day.[3]

The statements here made are borne out by the following table, when properly interpreted. Of course only the averages for those employed without board are comparable, for they alone are net figures.

	Regular with Board		Regular without Board		Temporary with Board		Temporary without Board	
	Number	Average	Number	Average	Number	Average	Number	Average
Miscellaneous, white	411	$1.311	199	$1.869	53	$1.286	286	$1.855
Italian . .	101	1.108	22	1.667	181	1.121	—	—
Mexican .	—	—	85	1.422	—	—	82	1.721
Chinese .	108	1.406	26	1.559	35	1.454	99	1.743
Japanese .	93	1.396	863	1.623	40	1.421	2,654	1.615
Hindu . .	—	—	66	1.534	—	—	253	1.441

---

[1] Immigration Commission, Reports, Vol. 24, pp. 41–42.

[2] See general statement, Immigration Commission, Reports, Vol. 24, pp. 44–45.

[3] Immigration Commission, Reports, Vol. 23, p. 66.

The differences in these averages are paralleled in the averages obtained by the California Commissioner of Labor from his more inclusive statistical investigation. As reported by Commissioner MacKenzie in his summary given to the press May 30, 1910, "The average wage paid by white farmers to white help was $1.38 per day with board and $1.80 per day without board and to the Japanese $1.49 per day with board and $1.54 per day without board." Taking the commissioner's figures by occupations we find them to have been as follows:[1]

Occupations	Whites				Japanese			
	With Board		Without Board		With Board		Without Board	
	Number on fixed wage	Average wage per day	Number on fixed wage	Average wage per day	Number on fixed wage	Average wage per day	Number on fixed wage	Average wage per day
Berry pickers	—	—	9	$1.86	36	$1.54	59	$1.63
Celery cutters	—	—	20	1.50	10	1.50	101	1.50
Cultivators	392	$1.20	141	1.69	6	1.60	127	1.34
Farm hands	1,490	1.31	1,187	1.70	150	1.44	2,026	1.47
Fruit pickers	455	1.31	1,424	1.73	12	1.54	2,186	1.58
Grape pickers	101	1.25	147	2.00	29	1.72	999	1.75
Hoers	—	—	273	1.88	—	—	274	1.69
Laborers	113	1.30	186	1.84	1	1.00	1,067	1.45
Packers	14	1.00	165	1.78	—	—	440	1.55
Pruners	226	1.23	225	1.36	36	1.36	1,408	1.39
Teamsters	1,284	1.42	454	2.05	10	1.37	59	1.74
Totals (of all reported)	4,807	$1.38	5,189	$1.80	345	$1.49	10,676	$1.54

---

[1] Compiled from his Fourteenth Biennial Report, insert, p. 270.

Competition not on Equal Terms.—If it is granted that the Japanese were not of less efficiency in the various employments from which the data used in this long discussion have been drawn, it is evident that previous to 1909, and especially before immigration was greatly restricted in 1907, the competition between the races was not on equal terms. Not only did the Japanese have an advantage in organization and in lodging and boarding arrangements, but their wages were generally lower.

Japanese Labor and Agricultural Expansion.—Some other points already touched on briefly may well be discussed further in order that the various phases of the agricultural situation may be seen in proper perspective. The lower rates of pay of agricultural laborers had not a little to do with the agricultural expansion which has been witnessed. The presence of a nomadic labor force, so fluid that some migrated from northern California to the opposite extreme of the state in the course of the twelve months, and the ease with which its daily needs could be provided for made it possible to expand by developing the beet and other industries in new territory, in advance of a settled population at all commensurate with the enterprises undertaken. Again, it has been chiefly the Japanese who have been employed in out-of-the-way places under trying conditions, as along the *Lower* Sacramento River, and it has been largely their labor which has developed the country so as to make it habitable for a settled population. Finally, they have done at about the usual price the "squat work" in the strawberry and celery patches, in the raisin vineyards, and the sugar-beet industry, when white men would have been hard to secure except at considerably higher wages. It is true, of course, that no kind of farm work has been done by Japanese that has not been engaged in to some extent by white men. Yet it is also true that such industries as require much stooping or squatting have been greatly assisted by Japanese, and by the Chinese before them. Because cheap, because organized, because nomadic, because cheaply sheltered and self-subsisting, and because of their adaptability to certain kinds of work naturally distasteful to and arduous for white men, the agricultural development of the state owes much to the Japanese laborers. Much of California's agriculture was based upon Chinese labor; by Japanese labor it was not only supported but developed and some new branches, such as the growing of strawberries, introduced.

The Real Problem. — The expansion of agriculture has created new opportunities on the farm and in the packing and shipping centers. The demand for the labor of teamsters, of packers, of shipping clerks, and others has been increased where the expansion due to Japanese labor has exceeded the rise of the Japanese as a part of the labor supply. Only in exceptional instances did they do much of this work in 1909. Taking the interests of all classes into consideration, it would be difficult, if not impossible, to show that Japanese labor had not been an asset to the rural communities of California so far as immediate pecuniary considerations are concerned. But the real problem is found in the development of a capitalistic agriculture with high land values, retarding the natural subdivision of the land and its settlement by families producing a number of crops and doing most of their own work. The development of this capitalistic agriculture was accompanied to some extent by subdivision of the land and settlement by Japanese as tenant or as landowning farmers. The problem connected with this will receive attention later.

Recent Developments not Significant. — The really important things connected with the Japanese problem so far as agricultural labor is concerned lie in the past. Few of the developments since the investigations by the Immigration Commission and the California Labor Commissioner have any particular significance. Those developments may be traced, however, incidental to a presentation of public opinion and the problem of agricultural labor as it is now found.

Supply of Japanese Labor Diminished. — The number of Japanese laborers available for employment by white farmers has diminished, and in certain communities to a marked degree. The total number of such laborers has decreased with restrictions on immigration and the increase in the number of Japanese farmers. The number of unskilled temporary laborers has shown a still greater diminution, for slowly the Japanese have risen to the position of regular hands and teamsters. This advance, however, has not been sufficient to have any noticeable effect upon the wages and conditions of these positions which white men find more to their liking than the seasonal hand work. As in the case of the Chinese, when their numbers diminished, the wages of Japanese have increased. About Vacaville they are paid $2 and $2.25 during the harvest season. Two dollars is the usual rate for picking fruit and berries in every locality visited, and the wage for packers is usually somewhat higher. Lower payment of Japanese than of white men engaged in the same occupations is almost entirely a matter of the past. Piece rates, so important in harvest work and the almost universal rule in the cultivation and harvesting of sugar beets, are not only uniform for "white" and Japanese laborers, but they have shown a tendency about Fresno and in other localities visited to increase somewhat. Here and there the Mexicans are proving to be the best bidders for such work and undertake it for less money than the Japanese.

New Sources of Labor. — The number of Asiatic nomadic workers has very much diminished. Though a considerable number migrate to and from certain communities, some of them moving even from northern to southern California, they are, in nearly every locality visited, much fewer than five years ago. In some cases the farmers have resorted to the more extensive use of Mexicans and Hindus to meet their needs. This is especially true of the sugar-beet growers of the southern part of the state and of the raisin growers of the Fresno district. In spite of the assistance received from the larger number of wives who work more or less regularly in the fields, even many of the Japanese farmers are using Mexicans and Hindus and not a few are employing some "white" laborers. The labor at hand in the community appears to be more carefully and more fully utilized in some cases. In more instances school children (during vacation) and others are being gathered up each day and transported by wagon to the orchards. There is little evidence, however, of any radical changes in the methods employed. The provision for housing and boarding laborers has changed little and the farmers proceed individually to secure needed help as they have always done. Wages in the orchards and fields are still lower than those paid temporary workers in sugar factories and packing plants where employment is seasonal. Nevertheless the problem of securing the number of laborers needed has not given much difficulty except in isolated instances, for industry has been badly depressed on the Pacific Coast and many white laborers have sought work in the country. There is no dearth of labor. The acreage of crops has expanded much as before and the general level of wages, and especially of piece rates, has not advanced very much. Consequently there is no general demand among farmers for more agricultural laborers of any class. They are looking forward to a large influx of South European immigrants by way of the Panama Canal in the near future, and, unfortunately, the newcomers are expected in some way to fit into the situation practically unchanged, though shaped largely years ago by Chinese labor.

Little Difficulty at Present in securing Needed Labor. — The only important instance found during my investigations in which any difficulty had been experienced this year in securing needed labor, and where it was strongly urged that more Asiatic laborers should be permitted to come in — the Chinese greatly preferred — was in one community where the harvesting of some 18,000 acres of beets was about to begin. There, in spite of the fact that the contract price paid for the handwork had been increased somewhat, it had been difficult to secure a sufficient number of Japanese to do the field work. Farther south Mexicans have been very largely substituted for the Japanese who formerly shared the work with them, and the expense of growing beets has increased but slightly. The Mexicans have proved satisfactory and the few supervisors of agricultural work conferred with had no desire for more Asiatic laborers. The work is being arranged so as to give employment most of the year, and some effort is being made to have Mexican families settle in the country where their labor is needed.

MacKenzie's Conclusion. — The California Commissioner of Labor, in his summary given to the press, expressed an opinion which has always been interpreted to mean that Asiatic labor was indispensable to the agriculture of the state. He said:

"It is not mere opinion, based on consensus of observation, no theory predicated on an analysis of conditions and requirements, but the positive expression of a majority of the growers of fruits and such products as are affected by the demand, that this labor must continue to be drawn from sources beyond the United States. The competency of both Chinese and Japanese to meet all the requirements by these industries of the orchard, the vineyard, and the field is unquestioned and unquestionable."

Senate Resolution of Disapproval. — This summary and opinion interpreted to be favorable to a further immigration of Asiatic laborers, called forth very general protest and it was for this reason that the report was not published when a supplementary appropriation might have been made by the legislature for that purpose. The report was buried and the State Senate expressed its disapprobation of the Commissioner's findings in a resolution presented by the present Commissioner General of Immigration and passed without a dissenting vote being recorded. The resolution reads:

"Whereas, the State Labor Commissioner has, in his report concerning Japanese laborers, expressed his opinion of the necessity for such laborers in this State, and thus without authority misrepresented the wishes of the people of this commonwealth, therefore be it *Resolved*, that the opinion of such Labor Commissioner is hereby disapproved by this Senate."[1]

Two Personal Conclusions. — From my personal investigations made for the Immigration Commission two things seemed clear: (1) that most of the farmers employing Asiatic laborers, assuming that all of the essential elements in the situation were to remain unchanged, regarded Asiatic labor as essential, and (2) that the majority of those farmers did not wish any further immigration of Asiatic laborers. Nor was there any inconsistency in holding both of these views at the same time. One question was, would the existing supply not be sufficient for imperative needs? Another was, should a readjustment and a change in the essential elements in the situation, shaped by Asiatic labor, not be made so that such labor would not be essential? Another question was, would it not be well to make some sacrifice, if necessary, because of other things than the immediate welfare of some specialized industries involved in the immigration from across the Pacific? It was, indeed, a common experience in 1908 and 1909 to have a farmer or an orchardist express the opinion that if everything else were to remain the same, then the character of the labor supply must remain the same, and the further opinion that some change should be made to obviate the necessity of such a supply of labor and some sacrifice be undergone if necessary in doing so. The Commissioner of Labor undoubtedly summarized accurately the preponderance of the initial testimony in the case. The California Senate undoubtedly expressed the view held by all but a small minority of the people of the state that any immigration of laborers to fit into the old situation in the old way was undesirable.

---

[1] See California Senate Journal, 1910, p. 39.

Nor in spite of the fact that the Japanese are now less adversely criticized by their employers than formerly because there is less misunderstanding of instructions given and fewer failures to live up to the provisions of contracts entered into and greater efficiency shown as a result of experience in the work to be done, has there been any great change in opinion in these matters. At Fresno, at Sacramento, at Salinas, at Riverside, and at several other centers of highly intensive farming, some men, largely big farmers or shippers, recently expressed themselves to me as feeling that there was a distinct need of Asiatic laborers, if the welfare of the enterprises they were engaged in were to be maintained and fostered. But a review of my notes shows that in four cases in five those who expressed themselves as of this opinion, were not in favor of any greater immigration of Asiatics than we now have. Those who did favor such an immigration felt that it should be "limited to needs" and almost without exception expressed a preference for a limited immigration of Chinese. There can be no doubt that the great preponderance of opinion among the farmers of California is against any distinctly more liberal immigration policy than the United States now has. Any change in sentiment during the last five or six years has been away from a liberal policy to meet the needs of the labor supply. The expectations of a large influx from the Mediterranean countries, the increased number of white men seeking employment in the country, and, without doubt, the advance made by the

Japanese as farmers have been important in bringing about a somewhat closer approach to a unanimity of opinion on the part of California farmers, that the present policy of very great restriction of Asiatic immigration should not be departed from. Whether this opinion is right or wrong, serious investigators are forced to the conclusion that it is undesirable to have an immigration of any race, whatever its color or its source, if it is to fit into the old scheme of things. In her natural development California has advanced beyond the point where it is desirable to admit immigrants to maintain or increase a bunk-house population with the conditions which naturally accompany it.

CHAPTER VI

JAPANESE FARMING IN CALIFORNIA

Japanese Farms and Acreage in California. — The Japanese are more conspicuous as farmers in California than in any other state. Of a total of 2,502 farms, embracing 157,259 acres, recorded in a bulletin recently issued by the Census Bureau[1] as being controlled by Japanese in 1910, 1,816, with an aggregate acreage of 99,254, were in that state. Thus California had 72.6 per cent of the farmers and 63.1 per cent of the farm lands controlled by the members of that race as owners or tenants. The value of the land was $20,239,638; of the buildings, $1,177,897; of implements, $540,685; of domestic animals, poultry, and bees, $750,936.

Other Figures. — These Census figures relating to the number and acreage of farms are considerably smaller than those reported in the Japanese-American Yearbook, where the name of each owner or tenant and his acreage are given. The difference is explained in part, it would appear, by the fact that certain classes, such as those doing a part of the farm work and sharing the product or receiving a price agreed upon, included in the one are excluded from the other. But whatever the explanation of the difference, the total acreage owned or leased by Japanese in 1909 was reported in the Yearbook as 153,683 as against the total of

---

[1] Bulletin 127 (1914).

99,254 reported by the Census for 1910. The corresponding figure for 1913[1] was 281,687 acres. Of this total, 26,707 acres were reported as owned, 255,980 as leased or worked "under contract." Though there is reason to believe that these figures and the growth of Japanese farming indicated by them are exaggerated, a considerable number of purchases and many new leases have been made during the last three or four years. The county assessor's reports show that in March, 1912, Japanese owned 331 tracts of land embracing 12,726 acres.[2] An unusually large number of purchases were made during the succeeding fifteen months, and especially during the few months alien land bills were under consideration, so that perhaps the total acreage now owned approaches 20,000. It is not unlikely, moreover, that lands now owned or leased in California have a combined acreage greater than the total reported by the Census for all the states in 1910.

Japanese Farming largely Intensive. — As would be expected, most of the farming carried on by Japanese in California is of the intensive kind in which they have been conspicuously employed as laborers. This is very well shown by the data collected by the California Commissioner of Labor five years ago. Though the number of farms investigated was perhaps less than four fifths of the number operated by Japanese and though in some respects the figures are now out of date, the following table still shows with a fair degree of accuracy the kind of farming engaged in.[1]

---

[1] A statistical investigation of Japanese farming is being made by the Japanese Association of America, but the results are not yet available.

[2] Fourteenth Biennial Report of the California Labor Commissioner, p. 633.

Crop	No. of Farms Reporting	Acreage Reported	Value of Crops Harvested
Berries	455	4,587	$729,731
Citrus fruits	2	20	2,000
Deciduous fruits	406	23,119	1,781,210
Grapes	154	9,657	435,350
Hay and grain	14	910	18,530
Hops	2	273	46,000
Nursery products	64	652	206,770
Sugar beets	32	5,655	271,050
Vegetables	531	33,467	2,517,160
Miscellaneous	72	4,814	248,055
Totals	1,730	83,252	$6,255,856

Their Relative Importance as Growers of Certain Crops. — Thus the Japanese farmers are largely growers of vegetables, potatoes, fruit, berries, grapes, and sugar beets. Their relative importance as growers of these in 1910 is shown by the table on next page compiled from the reports of the Census Bureau. Unfortunately data are not presented in Bulletin 127 for grapes, deciduous fruits, and certain other crops.

If the forms of tenure most closely related to a labor contract had been included, as they are in the Japanese-American Yearbook, the acreage reported for Japanese would be considerably larger. Moreover, it is considerably larger now than in 1910.

---

[1] From Thirteenth Biennial Report of the California Commissioner of Labor, p. 267.

Crop	Japanese Farms Reporting Same	Acreage Reported	Quantity Grown	Value of Crop	Acreage in All Farms of the State
Strawberries . .	440	2,123	7,875,905 (qts.)	$601,040	4,585
Blackberries . .	76	241	400,438 (qts.)	23,047	2,376
Raspberries . .	122	463	2,173,230 (qts.)	90,373	1,000
Hops	5	304	430,000 (lbs.)	42,200	8,901
Sugar beets . .	61	3,332	35,473 (tons)	184,713	76,257
Potatoes . . .	227	10,227	1,956,690 (bu.)	774,366	70,700
Other vegetables	742	7,498	—	736,904	70,169
Totals . . .	1,816	90,076 (a)	—	—	11,389,894 (a)

(a) Acres of improved lands in farms. The Census does not report total acreage for all crops.

Yet, as is shown by this table, the Japanese control a very small percentage of all the improved lands in farms and, except in the case of berries and certain kinds of vegetables, a very small percentage of the land devoted to different crops. The only branch of agriculture not covered by this table in which the Japanese control a large percentage of the total acreage, is in the growing of deciduous fruits.

Most of their Holdings in a comparatively Few Localities. — Another fact of considerable importance is that most of the Japanese farmers are found in a comparatively few localities and chiefly those in which they have been most important in the agricultural labor supply. In the Vaca Valley in 1913 they leased or owned approximately one half of the land devoted to the production of fruit and grapes.[1] About Florin they own or lease about one third of the farm lands.[2] Along the

---

[1] See Chapter VII.

[2] *Ibid.*

American River, back of Sacramento, Japanese and a few Chinese own or lease forty of forty-two ranches. In the "Newcastle district," where in certain localities most of the land is devoted to the production of grapes, deciduous fruit, and strawberries, the total acreage in 1909 being about 14,000, the Immigration Commission found that 6,992 acres of this were owned or leased by Japanese.[1] Of approximately 70,000 acres in ten districts along the Lower Sacramento, the Immigration Commission found that the Japanese leased something more than twenty-five per cent in 1909. Likewise of 42,682 acres in fourteen large tracts along the Lower San Joaquin, the Japanese were leasing 8,692. Near Livingston the Japanese control about 3,000 acres, nearly all of it in adjoining farms.[2] In view of such facts as these, it is not surprising that 1,540 of the 1,816 Japanese farms and 70,614 of the 99,254 acres controlled by them, as recorded in the Census for 1910, were in twelve of the fifty-eight counties of the state.[3]

---

[1] Immigration Commission, Reports, Volume 24, pp. 413 and 420.

[2] See Chapter VII.

[3] These twelve counties and the number and acreage of farms in each, as reported in Bulletin 127, were as follows:

County	Number of Farms	Acreage	County	Number of Farms	Acreage
Fresno . . .	192	11,185	Placer . . .	134	7,465
Imperial . .	51	3,348	Sacramento .	189	8,345
Los Angeles .	531	6,173	San Joaquin .	79	10,730
Merced . . .	18	2,620	Santa Clara .	124	2,901
Monterey . .	37	3,818	Solano . . .	55	4,149
Orange . . .	77	2,757	Yolo . . .	53	4,830

Size of Farms. — Another matter of importance relates to the size of farms. In the following table the distribution of all farms in California and that of 1,601 controlled by Japanese and reported by the California Commissioner of Labor are shown:

Size of Farms	Percentage of All Farms (a)	Percentage of [illegible] Japanese Farms (b)
Under 10 acres	12.0	27.7
10 to 19 acres	13.5	14.9
20 to 49 acres	23.4	29.4
50 to 99 acres	12.1	13.8
100 acres and over	38.9	14.3

(a) From Census, 1910.

(b) From Thirteenth Biennial Report of California Commissioner of Labor, p. 266.

In more detail the size of Japanese holdings investigated by the California Commissioner of Labor was as follows:

Size of Farms	Number of Farms	Per cent of Farms
Under 5 acres	192	12.0
5 to 9 acres	253	15.7
10 to 19 acres	239	14.9
20 to 29 acres	210	13.1
30 to 39 acres	128	8.0
40 to 49 acres	132	8.3
50 to 75 acres	147	9.2
75 to 99 acres	72	4.5
100 to 199 acres	150	9.4
200 acres and over	78	4.9
Totals	1,601	100.0

Large farms still predominate in California. Thus in 1910, 38.9 per cent contained 100 acres and over. The average was 316.7 acres. Most of those held by Japanese, however, are small. Almost an eighth of those investigated by the Commissioner of Labor contained less than five acres, more than one fourth less than ten acres, more than two fifths less than twenty acres, more than seventy per cent less than fifty acres, and only 14.3 per cent, one hundred acres and over. The average of the 1,816 Japanese farms reported by the Census was only 54.7 acres. The small size of most of these farms is explained, of course, by the fact that they are devoted to intensive agriculture. Those devoted to the production of strawberries and green vegetables usually contain from one to ten acres, while those devoted to the production of potatoes, beans, asparagus, and the like are usually under fifty acres. In the production of fruit the holdings are also, as a rule, small, for usually only the part of the farm in orchard is leased. The leases of land for the growing of sugar beets frequently cover 100 acres or more, but tracts of forty or fifty acres, or even much less, are found.

Progress of the Japanese as Farmers. — Of much greater interest than the things thus far discussed are the progress the Japanese have made as farmers, the reasons for the progress made, and the effects upon the communities in which they have settled.

As against the 1,816 farms embracing 99,254 acres reported by the Census in 1910, 29 farms, embracing 4,698 acres, were reported as being owned or leased by Japanese in 1900. The figures reported in the Japanese-American Yearbook each year since 1904 are not comparable with these, but may be presented in summary form for 1904, 1909, and 1913.

Year	Acres Owned	Acres Leased	Total
1904	2,442	54,831	57,273
1909	16,449.5	137,233.5	153,683
1913	26,707	255,980 (a)	281,687 (a)

(a) These figures for 1913 include an unknown but rather large acreage "under contract" excluded from the figures given for 1904 and 1909.

Progress has been Rapid. — Though it is exaggerated by these figures, the advance of the Japanese as farmers has been rapid. Not only have the number and acreage of their farms increased; a general advance has been evident in most communities from contract work to share tenancy with little capital provided by the tenant, to share tenancy where the tenant furnishes most of the capital and gains some independence as a farmer, to cash tenancy where he usually provides much of the capital required and is fairly free from control by the landlord, and then, finally, in a comparatively few cases, to land ownership.

Reasons for Progress Made. — The reasons for the increasing number of Japanese farmers are not different from those found in Colorado and elsewhere, except that the conditions in California are more favorable than elsewhere for the intensive farming they are naturally adapted to, and that the landowners have been more dependent upon Asiatics for needed labor. The Japanese are ambitious, they find the wage relation distasteful and wish to get the full product of their labor, they wish to settle down and establish a residence and a home, and are capable farmers. Moreover, the transition from laborer to farmer carries with it distinct social recognition and the badge of merit. These things being true, it is only a question of time and opportunity until they establish their independence of the wage relation. The opportunity has the more frequently come to them because of the place they have occupied in the farm labor supply, because of the ease and convenience with which they could be provided with the necessary shelter, and because of the fact that they, like the Chinese before them, have paid the highest rent for land.

Transition from Laborer to Tenant easily Made. — The important rôle the Japanese have played in California in such branches of agriculture as require much handwork, and especially such as necessitate much stooping or squatting and are, therefore, arduous for white men, has been noted in the preceding chapter. It is a general fact that the land tends to fall into the possession of the race occupying the pivotal place in the labor supply, if that race is a capable one. It has been only a slight change from the employment of Japanese laborers under a "boss" to share tenancy where the landowner provided most of the necessary equipment, did the work with teams, paid the wages of the employees, managed the business in all of its details, sold the products and collected the selling price, and then shared this with the tenant after all bills were paid. Cash tenancy, with liberal advances and the rent collected out of the receipts from crops sold, differs little except that more of the risk is taken by the tenant. To the landowner, however, either arrangement has had the distinct advantage of interesting the "boss" and obtaining with a greater degree of certainty his coöperation in securing laborers as needed and in supervising them at work. Most of the tenant farming by Japanese in the localities specializing in the growing of grapes and deciduous fruit has grown out of the fact that the Japanese worked under a "boss" and occupied a dominant place in the labor supply required for taking care of the crop. As some leased their land and secured an advantage in the labor market, there was the more reason for others to do so.

Easily provided with Shelter. — The Japanese, like the Chinese before them, have had a distinct advantage over other races as competitors for land in California, because they could be easily and cheaply provided with shelter. About Vacaville, Newcastle, and Fresno, the tenants have usually occupied the bunk house provided for Asiatic laborers, while the landowner has usually retained the farm residence with its premises, if not a part of the farm land, and continued to reside there with his family. If, as about Los Angeles, at Alvisa, and in a part of the Florin district, intensive farming has been newly introduced and the land has been subdivided into tracts for that purpose, inferior shelters would suffice. If they were provided by the landowner, they cost little and could easily be "knocked down" and the lumber used for other purposes. In many instances the shelters have been erected by the tenants, and with short tenure they have usually not differed materially from the bunk houses built by landowners for their Asiatic laborers, or the rude shelters built by them for their Asiatic tenants. The members of no white race prominent in the labor supply could be had as tenants unless the family residence was let with the land, or cottages, superior to those which have generally been provided, were erected at the landowner's expense for their use. With respect to the kind of housing required, the Asiatics have competed with others for the possession of land on the basis of a different standard. It has been an important factor in explaining the advance of the Japanese as tenant farmers.

Willingness to pay High Rents. — Moreover, the Japanese, like the Chinese, have been willing to pay higher rents than others for land — such high rents, in fact, that leasing his land has given the owner a better return than farming it himself, allowance being made for the diminished risk. That they could afford to pay relatively high rents is explained, in part, where a new type of farming was introduced by the Japanese, by the fact that their crops would bear a higher rent than those which had been grown. When land worth a few dollars per acre for growing hay is turned to the production of strawberries, it may be worth $20, $25, or even $30 per acre. If turned to the production of beans, or potatoes, or vegetables, it is worth more to the tenant than when used for the production of general crops. But the relatively high rents paid are not to be explained entirely in this way. Five years ago the writer was present when a young American sought to lease a ranch from an agent at Stockton. It was wanted for growing potatoes. He first offered to pay $10, and finally $12 per acre, one half down, the remainder when the crop was harvested, but his offer was declined because a Japanese had already offered $15, a Chinese $16, per acre for it for growing the same crop. The agent remarked: "It is too bad. Charlie is one of the most industrious and honest fellows in this whole country." This agent had a large number of ranches on his "list" and stated that the difference in rents offered in this instance was typical. Whether this was true or not, it is true that there were substantial differences at that time. Instances came to my attention along the Lower Sacramento where Japanese had replaced Italians as tenants by giving a larger share of the crop. Similar instances were found in some other places. With time the difference in rents would-be tenants are willing to pay have diminished, but it has not yet disappeared. It obtains to some extent about Fresno, for example, in the leasing of producing vineyards. Of course other considerations than the share of the crop enter into a share lease, but in general it may be said that there in 1914 the general rule was for the Japanese tenant to "take forty and give sixty" per cent, while other tenants and landowners "shared alike." That the Japanese have been willing to pay relatively high rents for agricultural land has, however, never been in dispute, so that further detail need not be added. Some regard it as meritorious, others as objectionable. Other things equal, it is well to have land devoted to those crops which will bear the highest rent. The point we are interested in here, however, is that the strongest competitor for land is the one who will pay the highest rent.

Pay high Prices as Purchasers. — Though comparatively few Japanese have purchased land, in so far as they have competed as purchasers they have had the same advantage in type of agriculture and in standards as where competing as tenants. This, again, has not been in dispute, so that nothing more need be said with reference to it.

There are other reasons than the use made of land acquired, why the Japanese can afford to pay relatively high rents or prices for it. There have been, as we have seen, decided limitations upon their occupational advance. They have usually been limited rather narrowly to the least attractive and to unskilled work. Without the usual opportunity to advance as wage earners, a premium has been placed upon farming as well as upon shopkeeping, and there has been a rather close relation between the necessary pecuniary return in prospect as farmers or shopkeepers and the wages they might earn.

Little Capital required by Tenants.—Before leaving the question why the Japanese have advanced as tenant farmers, it is necessary to call attention to still other factors than those thus far mentioned. One is that usually little capital has been necessary to qualify as tenant farmers. The statement that they have farmed with other peoples' money is only an exaggerated statement of a truth as regards the majority. Most of the capital required is invested in the land and the development of orchards and vineyards. This does not concern the tenant. Even cash rents have usually been paid in large part, and in some cases entirely, when the crops were harvested. Book accounts have been available, frequently with the landowner's guarantee, for supplies. Most of the things produced have been for a highly organized market and liberal advances have been secured from sugar companies, shippers, or packers. In the deciduous fruit industry, especially, the competition between shipping firms has been keen. It has not been unusual for these firms to interest themselves in the leasing of orchards so as to secure control of the crop as well as to help in solving the problem of securing the labor needed to care for it. A few instances have come to my attention where orchards were purchased or leased, and then leased to Japanese (or possibly to Chinese) tenants so as to control the shipping of the fruit.

Reduction of "Raw" Land. — The explanation sought would not be complete were mention not made of the service rendered in reducing lands to cultivation. Though the Census shows that 90,076, or about 91 per cent of the 99,254 acres of land held by the Japanese in 1910, were "improved," no small part of it had been improved by them. Mr. Shima has cleared thousands of acres of "delta lands" of bushes and tule, drained it, and reduced it to cultivation under trying circumstances and with great risk. Waste land about Florin and in the Newcastle district has been leveled for irrigation, pumping plants installed, and the land devoted to the production of berries. Other instances might be cited. For such land there has been little demand on the part of men of other races. Incidental to the advance made by the Japanese as farmers in such instances, a positive contribution of considerable importance has been made to the resources of the state. Moreover, another contribution has been made in developing orchards about Penryn and Watsonville, and of vineyards about Florin and Fresno while growing strawberries. This will be commented on at greater length in the part of the next chapter devoted to Florin. Yet the contribution made, except in devoting land to a more intensive use than might otherwise obtain, can be exaggerated. There has been no material improvement of resources in such instances as the growing of berries and vegetables about Los Angeles, where land is held for a time and then vacated because of the depletion of the soil or the use of the land for other than agricultural purposes. In some instances, as about Vacaville, the Japanese have made no contribution of importance to the resources of the community except as laborers. The orchards have simply been leased from year to year after having been developed by others.

Effects of Japanese Farming. — In what has preceded something has been said concerning the effects of Japanese farming. These may now be discussed more specifically.

Land Values. Population Changes. — In those localities in which Japanese have settled in any considerable number, land values have been increased chiefly because of the higher rental values of farms. It is asserted, however, that when the Japanese come in, others move out and their farms depreciate in value. There seems as yet, however, to be little basis in fact for such assertions. It is true that many families in some communities regard residence there as less desirable when any foreign race, and especially an Asiatic race, immigrates, and some have moved elsewhere. This movement has been to the cities, however, and how much of it has been due to other causes it is impossible to say. It is likely, however, that most of the changes of residence have been for reasons explaining why some families move away from other communities. Of more importance than the movement away from these communities because of any feeling that they are no longer desirable, is the fact that the convenience and profit connected with leasing has permitted landowners to live "in town" or in cities where there are better opportunities, especially for schooling children and for social life. Undoubtedly a premium has been placed on tenant farming and that carries with it a certain amount of absentee landlordism, but, taking the state as a whole, the percentage of tenants in 1910 (20.6) was less than in 1900 (23.1). In the United States as a whole, the percentage of tenants increased from 35.3 in 1900 to 37.0 in 1910. Of absentee landlordism, there is not a great deal in most of the localities in which Japanese are engaged in farming. Most of the landowners are living with their families on the farms leased in part or in their entirety to Japanese. In no case has there been an exodus before the Japanese. The most important effect on the number of white persons is found in the fact that smaller numbers come to these communities to lease or to purchase land. Some do come, they are found in every community, but there is a widespread feeling that they are fewer in number than would come, were it not for the presence of an Asiatic population and the higher land values which obtain. A few specific instances to support such a belief have come to the knowledge of the writer. Moreover, in some localities little has been done to subdivide large tracts and to attract white families who might purchase, establish homes, and do their own work, so that the number of white persons is smaller than it otherwise would be and the tendency toward the development of a small landowning class has been retarded. The managers of a few large tracts of land have told the writer that it was better to hold their property and have the land cultivated by "camps" of tenants than to subdivide it and sell it as small farms.

Japanese Good Tenants. — The complaint that the Japanese "skin" the land and ruin the orchards is frequently heard. Most of the Japanese are tenants, and tenant farming is likely to have such results. No case can be made against the Japanese as against other tenants, however. On the contrary, while one finds rather numerous instances in which the landowners have been dissatisfied with the Japanese tenants they have had, the general opinion is that the Japanese are good farmers and give rather more than less interest than is usual among tenants to the care and conservation of the properties leased by them. At Sacramento recently the president of one large fruit-shipping firm and the treasurer of another said that the Japanese were among the most careful and painstaking orchardists. At Fresno, a prominent Armenian told me that he would rather lease his vineyards to Japanese than to farmers of his own race because they took better care of them. The charge that the Japanese ruin the farms is a charge, which, like many others, one hears less of the closer he gets to the place where the damage is presumed to have taken place. On the whole the Japanese are regarded as good farmers and good tenants.

The Observance of Contracts. — Much has been heard to the effect that the Japanese are not honest in contractual relations. This charge will be discussed in its general aspects later in this report. So far as it relates to the business relations of the farmers, there has been not a little complaint. Much of it, however, appears to have been due to their inability to understand all the details of a contract they could not read. In recent years more care has been taken to understand all of the conditions of the contract entered into and the charges of breach of contract have become much fewer. Another source of misunderstanding has been that some of the Japanese who think more in personal terms and less in terms of contract than Americans, have sought to secure a change in their leases when they proved to be bad bargains and have occasionally left their holdings in order to avoid loss. A third fact is that formerly some undesirable Japanese secured leases. These, however, have gradually fallen out of the class of tenants so that most of those who remain are efficient and desirable farmers. The changes noted explain the statement of a prominent fruit shipper to the effect that ten years ago forty of each fifty tenants were dishonest, but that now the forty are honest and entirely trustworthy.

Occasional Overproduction. — Here and there it is asserted that the Japanese have "spoiled the market." The truth seems to be that many of the Japanese are inclined to "put all their eggs in one basket." If strawberries, or asparagus, or cantaloupes bring good prices and their production yields a good profit, the acreage is greatly increased and the prices fall. Many Japanese farmers have not made money because of this and it appears to be true that the production of strawberries and of vegetables in some cases has been unduly expanded with the result that producers complain of low prices.

The Kind of Labor Hired.—Another assertion is that the Japanese farmers employ only their own countrymen and that this effects a further displacement of white farm laborers. Though there are exceptions, such as in the case of Mr. Shima, who always employed all races in the production of potatoes on an enormous scale, and in the harvesting of fruit, the charge was substantially true until Japanese labor became scarce and dear. The Immigration Commission reported "That the leasing of land to Japanese, as to Chinese and Italians, has resulted in a displacement of laborers of other races because, on account of the disinclination of white persons to work for them or their own favoritism, they employ persons of their own race almost exclusively."[1] No doubt the fact of personal acquaintance and advantage of a common language had much to do with this policy. But, whatever the reasons, the facts were as stated. The California Labor Commissioner reported that 96 per cent of the employees on the farms investigated were Japanese. More recently, however, with the increase in wages commanded by Japanese and the increasing scarcity of laborers of that race, the farmers are employing "white" persons,

[1] Immigration Commission, Reports, Volume 1, p. 672.

Mexicans, and East Indians in larger and larger numbers.

Two other points, namely, the standard of living and the work of women in the fields, may be passed over because they are dwelt upon in the next chapter of this report.

CHAPTER VII

JAPANESE FARMING: SOME COMMUNITY OBSERVATIONS

Florin. — A more detailed discussion of Japanese work and farming as observed in a few communities will add something to the general summary statement of the two chapters immediately preceding. Only four of those with which the writer had more than a passing acquaintance, gained five years ago, and which were visited again this last summer, will be passed under review. And, first of all, Florin, a community which has been written of until it has become famous and one hesitates to say anything more about it. It is, however, the best locality in the United States for the study of the problem connected with Japanese agricultural life. This fact and the fact that much that is untrue has been said of it, afford my apology for presenting the following details.[1]

The Japanese Population and Farms. — The Japanese are a more conspicuous element of the population and in farming in the Florin district than in any other important community in California. They cultivate on their own account more than one third of the land, and do a large share of the work on many of the other ranches. The total number of Japanese residing there throughout the year is between eight and nine hundred, and to those several hundred are added during the busiest seasons when strawberries and grapes are picked, packed, and shipped. In the settled population there are some 255 farmers, some 159 married women (most of them the wives of farmers), and some 150 children under 14 years of age. The business men, laborers in the basket factory, and farm hands residing there regularly, making allowance for some duplication, add about 300.

---

[1] The writer made a report on Japanese Tenant and Landowning Farmers of the Florin District to the Immigration Commission (see Reports, Vol. 24, pp. 400–412). Free use is made of it in this chapter.

The "Florin District." — Florin is a small village and shipping station, nine or ten miles south and east of Sacramento. The town stretches along a main highway for perhaps a third of a mile on either side of the railroad track. Roughly speaking the "Florin District" embraces some twenty square miles and, therefore, 12,000 or 13,000 acres, most of which is tillable. Grapes and strawberries are the chief crops, but wheat and "hay lands" combined give a large acreage. Florin is an agricultural town, its white grocer, butcher, and blacksmith, its two Japanese grocers, and several small shopkeepers supplying the needs of the farmers and their hands. The basket factory there located provides the baskets and crates necessary for shipping strawberries and grapes.

Twenty-five Years Ago. — The Florin of to-day differs greatly in population and agricultural industries from the Florin of twenty-five years ago. Though a couple of hundred acres were given to the cultivation of strawberries and a considerable amount of grapes were grown at that time, wheat and hay were the main crops, and the farms, all of them owned by white families and few of them farmed by tenants, were large. The continuous use of the thin, hard soil for these crops gradually impoverished it, however, so that it was necessary to find crops, such as strawberries and grapes, for which it was better adapted. The older order has largely passed away, and the new one has been shaped pretty much by the Japanese.

The Japanese and a New Florin.—The commercial growing of grapes began nearly thirty-five years ago, and by 1890 it had made considerable progress. The growing of strawberries on a very limited scale came later. Much of the handwork in the vineyards in the early days was done by the Chinese, a comparatively small number of whom were settled in the community. The first Japanese found employment there just twenty years ago; by 1900 they did practically all of the work in the strawberry patches and a good share of that in the vineyards. The Chinese soon disappeared. For fifteen years, then, the Japanese have been the most important element in the hired labor supply. During that time field after field has been leveled, ditched, and pumping machinery installed for irrigation, and the land devoted to strawberries for a few years while vines were developing, and then turned into a vineyard by their labor. To-day strawberry patches of from 2 to 10 acres and vineyards of much larger size arrest the visitor's attention. The hay, wheat, and waste land, though still extensive, make little impression on his mind. During that time, also, wages paid Japanese for temporary work advanced from $1 per day — the rate at which the Chinese had been paid — to $1.50 to $1.75 or $1.80 in 1909, and to $2 to $2.50 in 1914. The basket factory was established ten years ago. At first most of the employees were white women and girls of the community. They were found to be unsatisfactory in certain respects and were rapidly displaced by Japanese, who by 1909 filled practically all of the positions. It is said that the white women were difficult to manage, could not be depended upon to report for work regularly, and, though paid by the piece (for making grape and strawberry baskets), did not wish to work more than ten hours per day, or work overtime, or on Sundays, as it was thought the interests of the business required. In all of these matters the Japanese were more acceptable to their employers, who are white men prominently connected with shipping firms in Sacramento. Paid by the piece, they formerly worked twelve to fourteen hours per day, and on Sundays, when the demand was such as to make long hours profitable.[1] At present all of the employees, except a representative of the non-resident manager, are Japanese. Most of the thirty-five or so are women, and with few exceptions they are married. A few young children are brought to the factory, where the youngest are kept in cribs installed for this purpose. Of course the hours have been brought under control by the adoption of the eight-hour law for women workers.

---

[1] See Immigration Commission, Reports, Vol. 24, pp. [illegible]

The Leasing and Purchasing of Land. — It was four or five years after the first Japanese came to Florin that they began to lease land and farm it on their own account. According to the older Japanese now living in the community, it was in 1898 that four families settled there and began to grow strawberries for a share of the crop. These tenants were extraordinarily successful, for the prices of strawberries were high and the market in Sacramento was at hand and those in San Francisco and other "Bay Cities" were easily reached by rail. These successful ventures combined with other things to induce an increasing number of Japanese, some of whom had been employed in the locality, to become tenant farmers. In 1901, the Japanese began to purchase farms. Leasing and purchasing of lands has continued more or less rapidly according to the fluctuations in the prices of strawberries, until something more than a third of the land in the district is cultivated by them. Long since, the few white growers of strawberries, who once had a couple of hundred acres all told, it is said, withdrew from the industry, so that it is now controlled by the Japanese. The growing of grapes is extensively engaged in by white farmers whose vineyards have been developed chiefly by Japanese tenants growing strawberries, but the Japanese farmers also have devoted an increasing acreage to the production of grapes. It has been estimated that the value of all crops grown by Japanese farmers about Florin in 1912 was $557,949. In this total, grapes accounted for $276,904, strawberries for $256,720, chickens for $10,500, hay $4,200, and tomatoes $875.[1] The acreage farmed by Japanese and the number of their holdings are shown for 1908, 1912, and 1914, in the following table:[2]

	1908	1912	1914
Number of holdings	71	189	205
Acres leased	1,678	2,768	2,870
Acres owned	697	1,065	1,369
Total acreage	2,375	3,833	4,239

In one part of Florin, a couple of years ago, there were 154 farms owned and cultivated by white farmers, 31 owned and cultivated by Japanese farmers, and 63 owned by white farmers, most of whom lived on their holdings, and farmed by Japanese tenants.[3] The proportion of Japanese holdings in this district was perhaps above the average. Some of their holdings are of entire farms, while others are small tracts into which farms have been subdivided temporarily or permanently for the purpose of cultivation or sale. It is evident, therefore, that an increase in the number of Japanese farms, such as is shown in the table presented above, has not effected a corresponding decrease in the number of farms held by other races.[1]

---

[1] Kaizo Naka (Master's Thesis, University of California, 1913), *Social and Economic Conditions among Japanese Farmers in California*, p. 42.

[2] The figures for 1914 are not entirely comparable with those for the other years, for the land leased by Japanese from Japanese owners has been deducted in arriving at the total acreage. The figures for 1908 are from the Japanese-American Yearbook, those for 1912 from Mr. Naka's thesis, while those for 1914 are based upon a complete list of holdings furnished by Mr. [illegible], Secretary of the Japanese Association. Mr. Naka found 35 farms owned in 1912. The number at present is 73.

[3] Letter by Mr. [illegible] to editor of *Collier's Weekly*, June 13, 1912.

The Country. — Thus as one traverses the highways of the Florin district he may pass a few adjoining farms of the ordinary size owned or leased by Japanese farmers. Where the land is leased, the chances are that the owner lives with his family in the residence and that the Japanese tenant — with his family — occupies a "boxed-up" unceiled "shack" of two, three, or four rooms located at some distance from the road, or the Chinese bunk

---

[1] Mr. Holm, in his thesis cited above, gives (p. 42) the following details relating to the size of Japanese holdings in this district. He made a statistical study of the Japanese farming as it obtained in 1912 — the year to which these figures relate.

SIZE OF FARMS	NUMBER OF FARMS	PERCENTAGE
5 to 10 acres	18	14.06
10 to 15 acres	30	23.44
15 to 20 acres	16	12.50
20 to 30 acres	19	14.90
30 to 50 acres	36	28.12
50 to 100 acres	8	6.
Over 100 acres	1	.8

house built years ago for the Asiatic hired help. Only in a minority of cases are the Japanese tenants occupying the farm residence and cultivating the land leased. At other points in his journey the observer will see only here and there farms which have come into the hands of the Asiatics. Occasionally he will come upon a large farm which has been subdivided to be leased or sold to Japanese. In a few of these cases a number of comparatively new houses of inferior type have been built in a group to serve the needs of the several families and a colony has resulted. In other cases the houses stand upon five-, ten-, or twenty-acre tracts which have been set off for lease or sale, a number of comparatively new houses occupied by Japanese thus occurring close together.

The Town. — And upon his return to the town of Florin, the visitor finds a store, a blacksmith shop, a butcher shop, and a new hotel conducted by white men, a couple of stores, a barber shop, and a few other smaller business places, conducted by Japanese. Along the main highway are several residences of the usual village type, and the Methodist church and the public school building. By the railroad track is the basket factory. Across the track and back some distance from the main highway, is a row of poor "shacks" where some of the factory hands and other Japanese laborers find shelter.

The Progress of the Japanese Explained. — The progress made by the Japanese as farmers, so noticeable in this district, is explained by their ability and ambition to get on and the convenience and economic advantage to the landowners in leasing or selling to them.

Farmer's Profits; Position; a Home.—Though prices have fluctuated greatly and on the whole the growers of strawberries have not made much profit, the large profits made now and then have appealed strongly to the Japanese. As important as this has been the fact that the Japanese are not content, as are the Chinese, to remain in the inferior position of wage earners. And most important of all, they have wished to settle down with their families. The way has been made comparatively easy by the convenient terms for paying rent or purchase price and by the liberal credit extended and advances made to them. There has been here, as elsewhere, a considerable element of truth in the statement that they have farmed with other people's capital. Most have begun as share tenants. Later on when cash rent has been paid for land to be devoted to growing strawberries, it has been not unusual to divide the total to be paid during the period of years, so that most of it became due in the seasons of greatest productivity. Comparatively small amounts have served as first payments on the purchase price of land. The Immigration Commission found that in one case of twelve investigated no cash payment was required at the time of purchase, while in the other eleven the total payment amounted to only 17.26 per cent of the consideration involved.[1] Beginning thus, the farms were usually paid for as the crops were disposed of, or, in some cases, they reverted to the original owner when the purchaser became bankrupt. Tenants have received liberal advances from owners, while practically all of the growers have received credit at the stores and received the usual liberal advances from the companies shipping the crops. Thus credit in various forms has made a beginning easy.

---

[1] Immigration Commission, Reports, Vol. 24, p. 407.

The Interest of the Landlord. — On the other hand the leasing of their farms has appealed strongly to the landowners of the community. Much labor is involved in growing intensive crops, and leasing interests the laborer in the crop and gives a nucleus for the needed labor supply. In some instances farmers have said that they leased their land when it was sought lest they should be unable to secure the Japanese labor which had become almost necessary. Moreover, leasing for the growing of strawberries has been attractive to farmers who wished to develop "hay land" into vineyards. The tenant has leveled the ground, irrigated it, and set and cared for the vines while growing berries. And while this was being done, the land brought a rental considerably higher than it would yield if used for the production of hay or wheat. And, finally, the Japanese have been willing to pay relatively high rents. As the purchasers of land also they have been willing to pay relatively high prices. By frugal living, long hours, and great industry they then have sought to make their profit.

Rents and Land Values. — All parties agree that the Japanese have paid the highest rents and the highest prices for land. Its value has almost, if not quite, doubled during the last ten years, and the increase in rents has supported this advance. The assertion frequently made that the presence of the Japanese has reduced the selling price of land in the community is untrue. Their demand has been too strong for that and numerous cases can be cited to support the contrary. The biggest, and indeed the only important, factor in causing the advance has been the competition of the Japanese for farms. Their standards of living and, more important, their industry and their efficiency as growers of strawberries and grapes have enabled them to be the most successful competitors for possession of the soil.

The White Population. — It is frequently said that white families have left the community because of the presence of the Japanese and that the white population has diminished in the last ten years. Some white families have moved away — whether because of the presence and activities of the Japanese, or because of the limited opportunities offered by a small place in the shadow of a rapidly growing city, it is hard to say. Some of the daughters have married and live elsewhere, some of the sons have sought better opportunities in Sacramento and San Francisco, and a few families in this way have simply "died out." No doubt the possibility of leasing their land on good terms has placed a premium on absentee landlordism while the liberal prices offered for land have placed a premium on selling out and retiring to some other place. But a trip through the country reveals the fact that white families, and not a few of them, have in recent years bought or leased farms and settled in the community. San Joaquin township in 1910 had a total population of 2,236, as against 1,289 in 1900 and 1,383 in 1890. Making due allowance for the increasing number of Asiatics, the white population must have more than held its own between 1900 and 1910 when the influx of Japanese was greatest.

Japanese good Farmers. — An examination of the situation shows not only that the Japanese have played the largest part in converting Florin into a strawberry- and grape-growing center, but also that they are good farmers. Their farms almost without exception bear witness to the fact that they are well versed in the arts of agriculture and are tireless in their industry. Their vineyards are usually better than those of their neighbors. Farms recently acquired by them are producing something, while some of the small tracts purchased or leased by white farmers after two or three years bear evidence of little or no improvement except the newly constructed typical American cottage.

Japanese Housing. — The statement has been made that the housing of the Japanese is on the whole good and that from the road you cannot tell whether a residence is occupied by a Japanese or a white family, but this is misleading. Here and there a good farm house has been purchased with the land and is occupied by the Japanese owner. Here and there the white family has moved away and the tenant occupies the "white house." Here and there, indeed, in a large percentage of the cases, Japanese who have purchased tracts have erected modern cottages comparing not unfavorably with those erected by their white neighbors. More frequently, however, the rough "boarded-up," unpainted structures are poor enough, though they are generally better than those erected by the landowners for their Asiatic tenants. It is perhaps true that as they become able these poor structures are replaced by good houses. It *is* true that ordinarily the American family requires a comfortable house to begin with, and that in the majority of cases the Japanese do not. Most of the Japanese families are of course living in homes built for them as tenants or laborers and these are usually no better than those erected elsewhere to serve the same purpose. With land ownership better houses are built, but on the whole, as Mr. Naka observes, the Japanese of the Florin district are poorly housed. In this respect their standard of living has been low or their thrift has been unusual as tested by American standards.

Other Standards. — Much the same might be said of the furnishings seen in the dozen houses inspected. Except for the long raised bunk provided in some cases for their countrymen employed as laborers, and possibly the open fire doing service for the cooking, the furnishings are American and of fair quality. In some cases they compare very favorably with those of American neighbors, but usually they are meager. In perhaps one case in four, the homes are clean and well cared for but in the others the housekeeping is more or less neglected for work in the fields, for nearly all of the women are working regularly in the strawberry patches or vineyards. In the case of the Japanese, it is still a "work-a-day life" with long hours and usually more than a six-day week. They are paying for the land or "making" the rent, they work industriously and intelligently, but relatively few of them think and act as yet in terms of the American standard so far as the things thus far mentioned are concerned.

But in the matter of dress and food the Japanese standard is not low. If anything, it is extravagant. They wear good American clothing and there is evidence of a lack of economy in the purchase of supplies. There is evidence also of much hospitality. In some places it is found in sake kegs or empty beer bottles. In the making of presents to one another and their white friends, they are generous to a fault. Many expensive things are bought for the children who are now found in almost all of the families.

Business Relations. — Most of the dealings of the Japanese farmers and laborers are with the Japanese shops conducted in Florin. It is only natural that it should be so because of racial sympathies, ease of doing business in their own language, the possibility of purchasing Japanese articles which enter into their diet to a considerable extent, and because the best store is now conducted by a merchant of this race. The one white grocery is inferior in stock of goods, if not in management, to the largest Japanese store. White families deal there to a considerable extent and to meet their needs an American clerk is employed. Yet the bitterly anti-Japanese grocer (Mr. Reese) states that he gets a share of the Japanese trade. While it has been impossible to secure needed details, it is undoubtedly true that Florin is not as good as it once was for white storekeepers and business men. The situation, to a certain extent, has grown away from them.

Social Considerations. — As Miss Brown has said, "The Japanese are peaceable, law-abiding, tirelessly industrious, home-seeking, moral, temperate, grateful, and generous. They require no policing, there are no disturbances; no woman has ever been molested."[1] In business matters the relations between the races are satisfactory and there is little complaint of the non-observance of contracts and the like. Of neighborly visiting between white and Japanese families, there is some but not much. Most of the Japanese women seen could understand little of the English required in ordinary conversation and most whites are not inclined to grant the Japanese full social standing. Perhaps they have risen from an inferior economic rank too recently for that. The average white man is inclined to react unfavorably when an Asiatic race rises from an inferior economic position.

Dr. Gulick's statement that "a large number of small farmers have no direct or personal relations with the Japanese, neither employing their labor nor leasing to them nor regarding or treating them as neighbors" is true.[1] The accuracy of his observation that Florin farmers do not want restrictive legislation against the Japanese is at least questionable.

---

[1] *The Japanese in Florin, California*, pp. 4-5.

Some Dissatisfaction among White Residents. — When the alien land bill was under consideration in the state legislature in the spring of 1913, much was said concerning the situation about Florin and the attitude of the citizens of that community. The Japanese found a number of spokesmen in prominent men and women of the town and country. On the other hand, in order that Mr. Bradford's bill might be reported out of the committee where it rested, a petition praying that legislation should be enacted forbidding the purchase of land by Japanese was circulated at Florin. At the instance of Mr. Reese, it was "taken up and down the road" and something more than seventy signatures were secured. It was not presented to a few known to be opposed to such legislation, and two others, I am told, refused to sign it. This petition was secured from Mr. Bradford, and Miss Brown (pro-Japanese) was asked to check it so as to throw light on the character of the signers. A few were found to be non-residents, some of the residents were not farmers, some of the farmers had not leased land to Japanese. A considerable number were representative farmers who had and were at the time leasing to Japanese. With due allowance for the fact that it is an easy matter to secure signatures to almost any petition, this petition and the circumstances under which it was circulated and presented must be regarded as evidence of some, perhaps a considerable, dissatisfaction with the situation at Florin among those resident there.

---

[1] *The American Japanese Problem*, p. 64.

Japanese Children in the Public Schools. — There are now in this community many Japanese children under fourteen and a considerable number of young men. Though the majority of the children are still too young to attend school, the number in the primary grades is almost as large as that of the white pupils. The Japanese children are intelligent and well behaved. They and others play together at school and elsewhere without friction. The only problem that has developed has been in the first and second grades, due to the presence of Japanese children with a limited knowledge of English. Most of the mothers know no English and the native tongue is used at home so that most of the children start to school knowing only a few English words. While they are learning our language the progress made in these beginning classes is retarded. This problem is of some importance, but, happily, can be easily solved. Already plans are under consideration looking to the establishment of a kindergarten which these children would attend for a year or two and in which they would learn English before entering the grades. The establishment of a school of this character should leave no problem connected with the public schools.

The Problem of the Religious and General Social Life of the Community. — The problem connected with the religious and general social life is more difficult as seen by those who are trying to solve it and who have the greatest good will for the Japanese. The Methodist church is the center of the better social life of the community and is presided over by an unusually capable man in Mr. Buckner. A building has been purchased across the street for the Japanese mission, and this serves for the Sunday school and as a center for the social life of the small number of Japanese who are Christians. But what shall be done to bring the races belonging to the same church together in social intercourse as the number of young Japanese growing up increases? As yet the races are being held apart because it is thought any other policy would cause the Americans to withdraw. There is a feeling that the situation is such that a unified social life with the church as a center is impossible. From his sympathetic point of view the pastor expresses the opinion that Florin has a social problem — and one not entirely due to the fact that except for the church and the individual efforts of a very few like Miss Alice Brown, no effort is being made to make one civilization out of two diverse ones represented on the same soil. With few exceptions the people of Florin are opposed to an immigration policy which, whatever the economics of the matter may be, develops a situation such as is found in their community.

The character of the houses in this community, the character of the agricultural work of greatest importance, the contribution of the Japanese as laborers and farmers, and much more of importance are shown by photographs for which the writer is greatly indebted to Miss Brown. They may be presented with brief observations.

The first of these pictures gives a glimpse of a part of Florin on a busy day when grapes are being shipped. This year 725 cars were shipped through the four firms which compete for the business.

The second picture is of the basket factory to which reference has been made. It is owned by American shippers. The employees, with one exception, are now Japanese.

That Florin has not ceased to be attractive to white families is shown by the third picture. This cottage was built a year ago.

Some years ago the one American hotel was destroyed by fire, but this summer a new one was built by a man from Chicago. It is shown in the fourth picture.

Along with such buildings as these are others erected by Japanese. One of them — a store and rooming house — is shown in picture "5."

White families still come to Florin and settle upon the land. In picture "6," the house erected by one of them is shown. A living is made by raising chickens and ducks and selling milk. Picture "7" is of the home and poor garden of another family of Americans who have settled on the bare land within the last two years. The house is one of the poorer kind to be seen.

The next pictures ("8" and "9") show vineyards and strawberry patches developed from such land as is seen in picture "7."

Courtesy of Miss Brown.

1. Florin when Grapes are being Shipped.

Courtesy of Miss Brown.

2. Florin's Basket Factory.

Courtesy of Miss Brown.

3. A New "American" Cottage in Florin.

Courtesy of Miss Brown.

4. Florin's New Hotel.

Courtesy of Miss Brown.

5. A Japanese Building built by Japanese.

Picture "10" shows the "squat" work involved in picking strawberries. The picking is being done on a 10-acre tract developed from pasture land. It was purchased four years ago. Just before the alien land law went into effect, the owner purchased 13 acres more.

A still better ranch is seen in picture "11." The owner purchased 20 acres of land filled with slough holes. He paid $70 per acre for it and spent $40 an acre in leveling it.

Pictures "12" and "13" show the same tract of land — the former at the time it was leased (in 1913), the latter three months later. The land was purchased by an Italian two years ago for $80 an acre. It is now leased to six Japanese. One has 30 acres, the others 10 acres each. Any improvements made by the tenants are to become the property of the owner of the land upon the expiration of the ten-year lease.

Picture "14" is of the house and berry patch of a Japanese who bought 10 acres of swampy land 4 years ago, paying $75 per acre for it. The last 13-acre tract of the subdivided pasture was purchased by him a year ago for $65 per acre.

Picture "15" shows the house and premises (the flowers will be noted) of a Japanese who nine years ago bought 10 acres at $44 per acre. He has a wife and six children — the largest Japanese family in the community.

Picture "16" shows a part of a ranch purchased six years ago. The price was $82 per acre. The bare land was leveled, irrigated, and devoted to the production of strawberries, while the vineyard was being developed. When the original tract was paid for out of the profits realized, twenty acres more were purchased.

The last picture ("17") shows one of the best cottages seen erected by a Japanese owner. The forty-acre vineyard is not shown. Unfortunately the type of house usually erected for or by Japanese tenants is not included in this collection. It is the same, however, as those shown below in the views from southern California.

The Vaca Valley. — In many respects the situation in the Vaca Valley, the "Newcastle district," and other old fruit-growing communities differs from that at Florin. Though it is not entirely typical of such communities, the Vaca Valley may be next passed under review.[1] It also has received much attention and has often been misrepresented in public discussion.

Japanese Holdings. — The Vaca Valley lies several miles north of Suisun and a short distance west of Elmira. It is about eight miles long and from three to six miles wide. Some 15,000 acres are devoted to the growing of grapes and deciduous fruits of various kinds. Approximately one half of this large acreage is farmed by Japanese, chiefly tenants. In 1913 they owned 397 and leased 7,775 acres, most of their holdings in this district being devoted to fruit growing. Incidentally, however, they devote about 300 acres to the production of vegetables.

[1] The situation in the Vaca Valley was investigated by the writer for the Immigration Commission. See Reports, Vol. 24, pp. 175-198.

Courtesy of Miss Brown.

6. The House erected by a White Rancher who recently moved to Florin.

Courtesy of Miss Brown.

7. A less Well-to-do White Neighbor's House and "Patch."

Courtesy of Miss Brown.

8. WHERE JAPANESE GROW GRAPES.

Courtesy of Miss Brown.

9. HARVESTING THE STRAWBERRY CROP — A PICKER OF THE "STUDENT CLASS."

Leasing and the Labor Situation. — The leasing of orchards and vineyards (these are much less important than the orchards) in the Vaca Valley is intimately connected with the labor situation there. Most of the leasing is closely related to a labor contract and there is little of permanency in it. The acreage leased by Japanese expanded with their increasing domination of the labor supply until some 7,359 acres were controlled in this way in 1910. It has changed little as other elements in the labor supply have become more important in more recent years. Many of the tenants after a few years here have migrated elsewhere — to Lodi, Fresno, Penryn — to find better opportunities, and others, as a rule, have come forward to fill their places.

Seasonal Labor Required. — The Vaca Valley is one of many places in California where for climatic and other reasons, specialization in crops has been extreme and the labor problem growing out of this specialization a difficult one to solve. The landowners and tenants with a limited amount of regular help do the necessary cultivating of the orchards and vineyards, but from May, when the harvest season begins, until August, when it ends, much additional help is required to pick and pack cherries, pears, plums, and peaches, and to pick, cut, and dry peaches and apricots. On ranches investigated for the Immigration Commission in 1908, it was found that those temporarily employed — usually for a few days or a few weeks at most on the given ranch — were as 7.5 to each one regularly employed. The settled population, old and young, urban and rural, fruit-growing and non-fruit-growing, was about 5,000 at that time. To these about 4,000 were added from other localities to meet the needs of the community during the busiest part of the harvest season.

Some Labor History. — Fruit growing about Vacaville was built largely on Chinese labor. Several years after the Exclusion Act went into effect about 1,000 Chinese still found employment there. Much of the work was done "under contract," and, because a convenient and profitable arrangement for the orchardist, some of the orchards were leased to them. Just when the Japanese first came there in search of work is in doubt, but their appearance marked the effective beginning of their employment as agricultural laborers in the United States. In 1889 about sixty were picking fruit on contracts. For seventeen years their numbers increased. Their presence hastened the reduction in the number of the Chinese and at times there is reason to believe they caused the number of white men seeking work to diminish. Not only did they come in comparatively large numbers; they were easily secured through bosses, were easily provided for, and were found to be more satisfactory than the transient white men seeking employment, especially after 1900. Moreover, to begin with they were the cheapest laborers. Their contract prices were at first lower than those of the Chinese, and their day wages were lower than those of white men. This underbidding diminished, however, as they

Courtesy of Miss Brown.

10. Developed from Pasture Land by the Japanese Owner.

Courtesy of Miss Brown.

11. Made by the Japanese Owner.

Courtesy of Miss Brown.

12. As it was when leased by the Japanese.

Courtesy of Miss Brown.

13. The Same Land growing Strawberries Three Months Later.

became better established and found opportunities for employment elsewhere, until there was little of it in 1908. Though as regular hands they were still paid less than white men, men of all races were paid about the same wages during the busy season — the Hindus, working for twenty-five cents per day less, being the exception. Complaint was already made that Japanese were difficult to obtain and that because of scarcity and their tendency to demand all the traffic would bear, their wages were too high. Some 1,500 are said to have come to the orchards that summer. The year 1908 also marks the employment of 300 Hindus and as many Spaniards and a larger number of non-resident white persons — some 1,500 — to break the so-called Japanese labor monopoly.

Position of the Japanese in 1908. — On farms operated by the white owners in 1908 the Japanese were chiefly pickers of fruit and pruners. They had, however, already begun to share with white men employment as "regular hands" to do "hand work." The cutting of fruit and the packing of that part of it shipped green was done chiefly by "white help" and Spaniards, 300 of whom in their poverty had come from San Francisco. But already perhaps more than one half of the fruit marketed was grown on ranches leased or owned by Japanese and there they were the chief employees. In fact they did nearly all of the work except the cultivating with teams, which was most frequently done by the white owner or his "hired men," and the cutting of apricots and peaches, a large part of which fell to the lot of white men, women, and children.

More Recent Changes. — During the last six years the Japanese have made such occupational advance that they do much work with teams and do packing, but their numbers have fallen off greatly. As against the 1,500 who came in 1908 and the 2,000 who had come somewhat earlier for the "rush season," only about 400 now come for the summer months. Even the number residing there throughout the year has diminished. Of course their wages have increased greatly. As against $1.35, $1.50, and, in exceptional cases, $1.60, paid in 1908, they are now paid $2 and $2.25 per day as pickers and packers of fruit. The deficiency of Japanese has been made good largely by the increasing number of Spaniards who work for about 25 cents per day less. Winter wages have advanced to $1.75 per day — the usual rate, as against the $1.25 and $1.35 paid in 1908. The Japanese farmers who employed their countrymen very largely six years ago, now employ others in large numbers.

Leasing by Japanese. — As in the case of the Chinese, much of the picking and pruning done by Japanese laborers was "under contract," that is, so much per ton or so much per tree, and as in the case of the Chinese, employment as laborers was followed by the leasing of orchards and vineyards. The first lease, for a share of the crop, dates from 1900. By 1906 the acreage under lease had increased to between four and five thousand, most of it rented for cash. In 1908, according to data supplied for

Courtesy of Miss Brown.

14. A Japanese Farm. Note Contrast presented by the Land across the Road.

Courtesy of Miss Brown.

15. The Home of the Largest Japanese Family in the Community.

Courtesy of Miss Brown.

16. As developed from "Raw" Land purchased Six Years Ago.

Courtesy of Miss Brown.

17. One of the Best of the Ranch Houses built by Japanese Owners.

the Japanese-American Yearbook, 3,024 acres were leased for cash and 3,269 for a share of the crop.

Reasons for Extensive Leasing to Japanese. — The progress in tenant farming thus shown is explained by several facts. The Japanese laborer wished to rise from the inferior position of wage-earner, he wished to find employment in one place throughout the year, he wished to get the full product of his industry, and he undoubtedly had an exaggerated impression of the profit to be realized from the crops. With the landowner it was chiefly a matter of convenience in securing needed labor and remunerative rents. By leasing to a Japanese he had a "boss" interested in securing the best laborers in sufficient numbers. Without a tenant he was at an increasing disadvantage in securing Japanese laborers as tenancy became more prevalent. Fear of a labor boycott also entered into the situation to some extent, for there were instances where in their eagerness to secure land, would-be tenants had said it would be impossible to get Japanese help were the land not leased to them. Rentals paid varied greatly with the kind and quality of the orchard and the division of labor and expenses between owner and tenant, so that the amount of cash or share rent paid may be passed over with the Immigration Commission's statement: "It is a matter of common testimony that rentals paid give a better return than the owners can make by working their lands, and an unusually good income on the capital invested."[1] When cash rent was paid, this arrangement had the further advantage of eliminating the risk and uncertainty connected with fluctuating prices.

---

[1] Immigration Commission, Reports, Vol. 24, p. 191.

The Character of the Tenure. — An agreement was accordingly entered into between owners and tenants which enabled the Japanese laborer to become a farmer and which helped to solve the landowner's labor problem and give him a good income without depriving him of much control over his property. The lease, covering perhaps only the part of the farm devoted to orchard or vines, ordinarily ran for only one year. The work was to be done under the supervision of the owner or his representative, and the crop marketed and the returns made to him. Frequently the landowner advanced money for wages and guaranteed bills at the American stores. The shipping firm — and in many cases it acted as agent in finding farms for tenants and tenants for farms — supplied needed crates, baskets, etc., for shipping and generally made advances on the crop which was then mortgaged to it. Bills incurred at stores were settled at the end of the season. Thus it becomes clear that the Japanese farmers did business chiefly with other people's money, in so far as they can be said really to have done business at all. Leases marked the first or the second step from a labor contract. Little control and permanency went with them. If the tenant-boss had been a boss before, he ordinarily continued to live in the bunk house, and, if he had not, he took up his residence there; the landowner continued to live in the farm house which together with its site and, likely, other property, was reserved in the lease. In exceptional cases the owner lived in town or moved there. Thus the statement made by a Californian a year ago that the Japanese had driven all the white farmers out of the Valley is wide of the mark. Tenant farming has made it convenient to live in Vacaville or in some other locality while owning orchards or vineyards in this district, but most of the farmers are living with their families where they have always lived. The stable resident white population has scarcely been affected, so far as numbers are concerned, by Japanese tenant farming.

The Contribution made by the Japanese. — The contribution of the Japanese in the Vaca Valley has been as fairly efficient, conveniently secured, and once cheap laborers, and as acceptable tenants. Efficient labor and lower cost aided in the growth of the fruit-growing industry but the Japanese have had to do chiefly with orchards and vineyards already developed. The Vaca Valley was no comparatively undeveloped community at the time of their advent. Their contribution was to maintain the old order and to allow for the gradual expansion which has taken place. They bought little land, for most of it was already developed and commanded such high prices that it was better to purchase elsewhere. In 1908 only four ranches had been purchased in the Valley and these were all small.

Changes since 1908. — Since 1908 there have been no important changes in the situation except in connection with the races employed and the wages paid, and these have already been noted.

Speaking roughly, it may be said that the community has fewer adult male Japanese living in bunk houses and many more poorly housed Spanish families with their numerous and uncared-for offspring. Most of the farms owned by Japanese, but heavily mortgaged in 1908, have been lost or sold and a few more have been purchased. The acreage owned in 1914 was 348 acres and most of it lay outside of the fruit-growing district. The acreage leased is about the same as in 1908, or in 1910. Leases carrying cash rent have become more numerous in years following high prices and fewer in years following low prices. Most leases are still for one year and carry the same limited degree of control as formerly. The tenants nearly all live in the "bunk houses" erected for the Asiatic laborers, and the white families generally occupy the farm residence. This means that the housing of the Japanese is on the whole very poor. As the Japanese have gained experience and the number of adventurers among them has decreased, they have been more appreciated as laborers and tenants—and but little reason was found for the complaint made of them in 1908. With decreasing numbers and a tendency on the part of the settled population to deal more extensively at American stores, Japanese business has waned in Vacaville. Instead of four Japanese grocery and provision stores, there are now two. The boarding houses have decreased from four to two, and the various petty shops and amusement places have decreased in about the same proportion.

In 1908 there were few Japanese married women.

At present they number about seventy, and with their coming, living conditions have improved somewhat. The number of children is still small — some thirty all told, it is said, — and there is no school problem. The social life and housing of the Japanese in Vacaville appear to be very much improved. They were formerly colonized in the Chinese quarter; they now have extended their residence places into an adjoining block, and the white population has very largely moved out. There used to be many fishermen among the laborers and one of the great evils was gambling at the fourteen gambling houses maintained by Chinese and patronized chiefly by Japanese. With the changes in the population this is largely a matter of the past.

Relations Between the Races. — As to the relations existing between the Asiatics and the white families in 1908 the Immigration Commission presented the following summary:

> "There is practically no association between Chinese and Japanese (this is true of the East Indians also) and the white population of the community save that incidental to the conduct of business. There is, however, no prejudice against the Chinese save that due to difference of race. Against the Japanese on the other hand, there is a very strong prejudice. It is partly due to racial differences, but more to the progress made by the Japanese, their position as laborers and tenants, and other matters commented on earlier in this report. The extent of this prejudice is shown by the fact that three years ago the Japanese mission

was burned to the ground, and the act was, in a way, approved by a great many of the natives. For the past year (previous to August, 1908), the Japanese have tried in vain to get a permit to erect a modern church building, which would not only comply with all the ordinances of the town of Vacaville, but would be superior to practically all of the buildings in the community."[1]

Prejudice has given Way to Toleration. — With time and with changes in numbers and other circumstances already noted, this acute feeling is a matter of the past. Some even compare the Spaniards unfavorably with the Japanese. The prejudice of six years ago has given way to toleration and acceptance — within limits. In social matters all Asiatics are still in but not an integral part of the community. All intercourse is a matter of business. From my inquiries, the alien land law of 1913 is generally, but not universally, regarded as a good measure. Even two managers of prominent shipping firms said that the measure was good legislation. When asked about the possible prohibition of leasing to persons ineligible to citizenship, they replied that they were opposed to a measure of that kind because the purchase of land gave the Asiatics a regular and permanent place in the community, while leasing is very much a labor device and leaves the white landowners in control.

Southern California. — In some parts of southern California the Japanese have made considerable advance as tenant farmers, growing melons, sugar beets, celery, berries and vegetables, and flowers. Most of the acreage, some 32,940 in 1912 — for the eight counties — has come under their control as farmers within comparatively recent years, for until twelve years ago there were few Japanese in that part of the state. About 1902, however, a considerable number of Japanese employed as section hands on the railroads were replaced by Mexicans and sought other occupations. Somewhat later many migrated from the north because of less opposition shown to them in the southern counties, and this migration became very large in 1906 when the fire of that year drove many out of San Francisco. And, finally, for several months seven or eight years ago, a considerable number entered the United States from Mexico and a large percentage of these remained in southern California. Thus the census figures for Japanese enumerated in the eight southern counties, increased from 685 in 1900 to 13,285 in 1910. The corresponding but not entirely comparable number in 1913, according to the Japanese-American Yearbook, was 19,629.

---

[1] Immigration Commission, Reports, Vol. 24, p. 198.

Thus rapidly increasing in numbers, the Japanese came to occupy a conspicuous place in the citrus fruit industry and the growing of melons, celery, berries, and vegetables, first as laborers and then, except in the citrus industry, as tenant farmers. The growing of berries and vegetables has been most conspicuous in Los Angeles county, which with a total population of more than 500,000 in

1910 has supplied an excellent local market as well as good shipping facilities north and east. The details presented here relate to this county exclusively.

Japanese as Laborers and Farmers in Los Angeles County. — In the case of the Japanese of Los Angeles county, labor in the berry patches and vegetable gardens was quickly followed by growing on their own account, for the transition from farm laborer to farmer was easily made. Few were employed as agricultural laborers previous to 1900; the first lease dates from 1901. In 1905, the Japanese owned 16 tracts embracing 369.5 acres and leased 145 others with an acreage of 1,636. According to the Census, in 1910 they held 531 farms with an aggregate acreage of 6,173.[1] Corresponding to these in 1912 there were 794 farms, embracing some 12,900 acres. The acreage of improved land in farms in 1909 was 418,998, or many times the number (6,151) held by Japanese.

Have become Important Growers of Certain Crops. — While the acreage in Japanese farms has been comparatively small, from the point of view of certain crops marketed, their farms have for several years been of the first importance. According to the Census, in 1910, 1,660 acres were devoted to the production of berries, 1,280 acres of which was farmed by Japanese. Of some 13,385 devoted to vegetables other than potatoes, the Japanese held 1,905. According to the Immigration Commission,[1] however, they produced relatively as large a share of green onions, string beans, peas, lettuce, and similar vegetables as of berries. As growers of other things, with the exception of flowers, they cut little figure.[2] With the lapse of five years there is no great change. Investigation at the public markets and observation in the country show that the Japanese control the market for berries, dominate that for the kind of vegetables noted above, and are the important growers of flowers. While they are now growing more of the heavier vegetables — potatoes, cabbage, and the like — these are not among their important crops.

---

[1] Census Bulletin 127 (1914).

Effect on Other Growers. — The Immigration Commission found that there had been some displacement of growers of other races, but that the

---

[1] For details taken from the report of the Immigration Commission, see its Reports, Vol. 24, pp. 378–393, where an account of "Japanese Farmers of Los Angeles County, Cal." is presented.

[2] The following table has been compiled from Census Bulletin 127. The figures are for 1910.

Crop	Total Acreage	Japanese Acreage	Japanese Farms Reporting	Quantity Produced by Japanese	Value Produced by Japanese
Strawberries .	1,380	1,080	223	3,771,461 (qts.)	$337,978
Blackberries .	280	48	23	142,300 (qts.)	8,085
Raspberries .	—	162	53	1,185,525 (qts.)	43,387
Beets . . .	14,191	210	2	1,580 (tons)	9,480
Potatoes . .	4,482	137	35	16,482 (bu.)	12,380
Other vegetables . .	13,385	1,905	221	—	237,964

advance of the Japanese had been chiefly by expanding the acreage devoted to this intensive farming for which they are peculiarly adapted. That such was the case is shown by the Census data for 1899 and 1910. During the ten years the acreage of small fruits increased from 737 to 1,660, that of potatoes from 3,007 to 4,482, that of other vegetables from 4,160 to 13,385. There can be no doubt, however, that the decrease in the number of Chinese gardeners was hastened by the Japanese competition and in some instances Italian and other growers withdrew before their competition or leased their land to them. In the years which have passed since the Immigration Commission made its investigation, the situation has not changed in this respect.

The Progress of the Japanese Explained.—That the Japanese have advanced as growers of certain crops while others have not, is easily explained. They were very efficient as laborers in growing berries and certain kinds of vegetables, and because of this efficiency and the fact that they were formerly cheap laborers, came to do most of the work in the berry patches and vegetable gardens. With ambition to rise and little capital required to purchase the few implements needed and to pay the initial rent, and with the possibility of chattel loans on crops, it is only natural that they should in many cases have become independent farmers. Moreover, they formerly had an advantage in hiring desirable Japanese help. More recently, if married, they have had an equally great advantage in the work done by the wives who almost invariably labor regularly in the fields, for long hours and frequently seven days per week. Moreover, because of their efficiency as growers, smaller expenses, lower standards in some of the details of living, and more strenuous application, they could afford to pay more rent for the land they leased. But one of the most important factors in explaining their advance is found in the conditions surrounding land ownership in Los Angeles county.

Speculation in Land and Tenancy.—Much of the agricultural land in Los Angeles county is being held until it can be marketed as city lots and as villa sites. Farms have taken on high speculative values and much of the land is held in large tracts by men of wealth. The chief gain from it is in the enhanced value as population and wealth increase. White families who would pay annually $4 to $10 per acre for it to produce alfalfa and similar crops ordinarily do not wish it because the owner does not care to provide the house and other improvements such families demand. Home building by farmers is out of the question in most of the communities around Los Angeles. The Japanese tenants pay $18, $20, $25, and $30 per acre per year, besides the water rent for irrigation purposes, and demand little or no outlay on the part of the landowner for their housing. In some cases the Japanese tenants occupy the Chinese bunk houses erected when the land was farmed in the older way. In other cases they occupy boarded-up, unceiled, and unpainted structures costing from

$100 to $250. Frequently the tenant erects the cheap structure himself, the lease providing that he may remove it when the time expires. In most cases the Japanese farmers are "squatting" upon the land for a time, until its sale or possibly the rotation of crops will make it necessary for him to vacate.

Typical Cases about Gardena. — Thus if one goes south from Los Angeles he comes to a 600-acre ranch until recently used for pasture, the production of hay, and the growing of eucalyptus trees. A considerable part of this has been leased to Japanese whose houses have been erected in two groups. Trees have been removed and the cleared land and the hay fields and pastures divided into small tracts for the production of berries and vegetables. The tenants pay for the water used and $25 per acre as rent. The contrast between the old and the new is shown in the accompanying photographs (numbered "18" and "19"). Across the highway a part of another tract is leased to several parties growing the same crops and flowers. Near Gardena the same condition may be observed on a number of what were once large farms devoted to extensive agriculture (as in number "20"). There the photograph showing the old and the new was taken (number "21"). Still farther on is a ranch of several thousand acres some six hundred of which are now leased in small tracts for periods of from three to five years. The tenant houses, like the one here reproduced (number "22"), are arranged in six groups. Most of the small plots are devoted to growing strawberries. The rent

Courtesy of Dr. Takagi.

18. A Japanese Settlement on a 500-Acre Ranch.

Courtesy of Dr. Takagi.

19. The Same Ranch looking in the Other Direction.

Courtesy of Dr. Takagi.

20. A Typical Japanese Settlement near Gardena.

Courtesy of Dr. Takagi.

21. The Old and the New separated by a Wire Fence.

runs from $20 to $25 and the tenant pays so much per hour for the water required for irrigating. The greater part of the large ranch is still used for producing hay. The contrast between the hay land and the strawberry patches is seen in photographs "23" and "24."

East of Los Angeles. — East of Los Angeles the situation is not very different in certain communities. In one typical case some eight miles from the center of the city I observed a ranch of 185 acres which had been leased for a period of three years to thirteen families for growing strawberries, bush berries, and vegetables. These tenants had agreed to pay $25 per acre as rent and the actual cost of the water was to be divided pro rata among them. The rent proved to be exorbitant, however, and upon the intervention of a Japanese business man, had been reduced to $20 or $22.50 per acre per year. The houses of the usual character had been erected in a group facing a lateral road running back from the main highway.[1]

---

[1] The numerous subdivision of farms for the purpose of intensive cultivation explains the fact that the average of Japanese holdings is only a little over 16 acres. The distribution of the 794 holdings in 1912, according to Mr. Haka, was as follows:

Size of Holdings	No. of Holdings	Per-centage	Size of Holdings	No. of Holdings	Per-centage
Under 5 acres	130	16.37	50 to 70 acres	22	2.77
5 to 10 acres	277	34.89	70 to 100 acres	9	1.13
10 to 20 acres	203	25.57	100 to 150 acres	5	.63
20 to 30 acres	72	9.07	150 to 250 acres	5	.63
30 to 40 acres	45	5.66	250 acres and over	2	.25
40 to 50 acres	24	3.02			

The Significant Things in the Situation. — This describes the situation as far as most of the Japanese farming in Los Angeles county is concerned. Rude shelter, high rents made possible by efficiency in growing crops which make little appeal to white farmers, and limited tenure are characteristic. From the point of view of the Japanese it marks an advance over working for wages, for they have a chance to get what they produce, and have a place in which to live with their families for a period of years. From the point of view of the speculative landholder his land yields a larger income which pays taxes and adds to the increment of capital value taken on as Los Angeles continues her rapid growth. From the point of view of the community it has not meant any great material improvement. The land has been temporarily exploited and then has been or is to be surrendered without any particular improvement. It has meant some displacement of other growers, but chiefly a more abundant supply of berries, vegetables, and flowers to be had at low prices. For the prices are relatively low. Frequently the growing of strawberries has been "overdone" and there has at times been complaint on the part of growers other than the Japanese that the prices of vegetables were not remunerative. In some cases the market has been so "poor" that Japanese tenants have lost money, and occasionally when they have not made their rent, they have "broken" their contracts. There is reason to believe, however, that in some cases the difficulties of the Japanese have

Courtesy of Dr. Takagi.

22. A Typical Japanese Tenant's House. In Foreground Three Graduates of Leland Stanford who are "making good" in Los Angeles.

Courtesy of Dr. Takagi.

23. The Carson Ranch — "Hay Land."

Courtesy of Dr. Takagi.

24. The Same Carson Ranch — irrigated and producing Strawberries.

been due to the advantage taken by the middlemen rather than to overproduction.

About Montebello and Newmark. — A part of the situation, however, remains to be described. Under the circumstances it is not surprising that the Japanese have seldom purchased the land they till. It is cheaper to rent than to buy in most cases where the land might be purchased. In some localities, however, there is a closer relation between the selling price and the productive value of the soil and a few Japanese have bought small tracts, usually of less than ten acres. Such is the case about Montebello and Newmark where several land-owning Japanese farmers, chiefly growers of flowers, were visited. One of these men owns five acres, where he conducts a nursery and upon which he has erected a greenhouse and a beautiful typical American suburban cottage of six rooms, which is also well furnished. His business amounts to $4,000 or $5,000 per year. Across the road Mr. —— owns five acres on which he is growing oranges and carnations. With the aid of his wife — he hires help during the busy season only — he last year cleared $2,000. The small cottage was erected before he purchased the place. Of his original ten acres he has sold five to an American who has built a beautiful home about a hundred yards from the house of his Japanese neighbor. Not far away another Japanese has a five-acre nursery. The "shack" on the land when purchased is used for the hired help and a new structure of two rooms somewhat, though not much, better, has been built for the family. Just across the road is an American who has recently purchased five acres on which he has built a beautiful little four-room cottage. He is growing the same things as his Japanese neighbor but less successfully, because his soil is not so good and perhaps his application is less strenuous. Still farther on the best nursery of all seen was visited. This Japanese owns three acres, and with his wife and two children lives in a tiny but well-built and nicely painted cottage which he has erected. For the second time, after visiting a dozen or more places, the wife was not found at work out of doors. Across the way several new and larger cottages have been recently built by Americans on cheap lots in a new part of the town of Montebello. At Newmark Mr. —— had purchased 2½ acres of rather poor soil just before the alien land law went into effect. For this and the poorly constructed cottage which had cost not to exceed $400, and some inexpensive outbuildings, he paid $2,700. He is beginning to develop a nursery and he, his wife, and two grown sons are living in the house, which as yet contains little furniture. Down the road lies Mr. ——'s small plot for which he had paid $2,000 last year. He had worked as a gardener in Los Angeles for four years and the purchase price had been paid in part out of the earnings he had saved. While his brother continued to work in the city so that he might bring money to this joint enterprise, he had himself built the large "lathe house" for his flowers and a tiny four-room, nicely painted cottage. The material for the house cost $100. He is making a home for his prospective bride.

General Impressions. — To present more detail is mostly to repeat.[1] My lasting impressions were that these landowning farmers and their wives are thrifty and industrious, that when they became landowners the miserable standards of the tenant gave way to better ones though not so good on the average as those observed by their white neighbors, and that the worst evil in the alien land law was to place a premium on "squatter" life and to stand in the way of an approach to the American standard, especially in the matter of housing, where alone, in his living, is the Japanese commonly deficient as compared to his white neighbor.

Anti-Japanese Feeling not Strong. — The feeling against the Japanese is not strong in southern California. Instances where white families have built on adjoining tracts have been given — one indeed where the land had been purchased from a Japanese who had more than he needed and could conveniently pay for. These farmers say that their white neighbors treat them well. Only here and there does there appear to be any pronounced feeling against them as neighbors.[2] Yet some feeling, though not of a personal nature, seems to be developing. It appears to be due to an assumption on the part of many that an Asiatic race should remain in an inferior position and to the fact that in competition the Japanese have an advantage in a lower standard of housing, in working long hours and more days, and in the work of their wives in the gardens and berry patches. The average American assumes that wives should not work regularly at the chief gainful pursuit of the family.

---

[1] Several localities other than those mentioned were visited, but those described are typical of all.

[2] I was interested to find that the anti-Japanese editorial in the *California Cultivator*, May 15, 1913, was based on one complaint from a white farmer who had recently acquired a Japanese neighbor.

About Livingston. — The most interesting community investigated is near Livingston, a small town on the Southern Pacific Railroad, between Turlock and Merced. It is unusual in that the farming engaged in was not preceded by labor in the vicinity and that the race is not given a distinctly inferior position in the community.

Here some years ago a Japanese corporation purchased as a speculative venture some three thousand acres of land which had been devoted to extensive farming. This has been subdivided and a large part of it sold to Japanese farmers. A few have purchased or leased other land from American residents so that now sixteen farms, embracing about 1,600 acres, have been developed. They are devoted chiefly to the growing of vegetables, grapes, and fruit, which until recently had found little place in the agriculture of the community. Japanese, "white" laborers, and Mexicans are employed in harvesting the crops.

Personal Observations. Relations between the Races the Best found in California. — Most of the Japanese families are well housed. Taken as a whole their residences are about as good as those of their American neighbors. Most of them are well furnished with American furniture. Their relations with their neighbors are cordial, though social intercourse is somewhat limited because of the poor command of English on the part of the Japanese women. Several persons were interviewed, and all spoke of the Japanese as desirable members of the community. There is no discrimination against them in the school or elsewhere. Most of them are Christians and attend the churches of the community. One, who had taught school in Japan, has been a trustee of one of the churches for five years and is now assistant superintendent of the Sunday school. Among the Japanese an organization has been formed, and a hall erected where both religious and agricultural meetings are held. The wives of the farmers are also organized, and once a month the wife of a former missionary in Japan comes from Turlock to teach them needlework and domestic economy. No doubt the excellent housekeeping observed is explained in part by this fact.

The Japanese farmers now number some twenty-two. All but four of these are married. There are twenty-three children, and the number is increasing at the rate of about six per year. At present only five of them are old enough to attend school. Four of these were seen, and, except in color, seemed to be thoroughly American.

In closing this brief statement relating to Livingston, I cannot refrain from setting down some personal notes concerning the former teacher to whom reference has been made and his family. With a change of details, much the same might be written of three or four of these Japanese families.

Mr. —— came to this country eleven years ago. Nine years ago he purchased a farm and was joined by his wife and two small daughters. He now owns a walnut and fig ranch of thirty-six acres, which was bearing when he purchased it, and leases a vineyard besides. He occupies a cottage of five rooms; the house is in good repair, and it and the premises are well kept. The floors are well carpeted and as a part of the furnishings of the living room are four leather-seated oak chairs and a few well-framed lithographed pictures —all American. In the back parlor is a piano, and among the conveniences in the kitchen is found a standard washing machine. The two daughters had just begun to take music lessons from an American teacher. One of the girls was in the eighth grade, the other in the sixth. Both are thoroughly American in every respect save that they are more gracious and more polite than the average native child. Their Americanism had extended even to insisting upon having American dolls with blond hair and blue eyes.

CHAPTER VIII

ALIEN LAND LEGISLATION IN CALIFORNIA

The Alien Land Law Discriminatory. — With the approval of the governor May 19, 1913, an alien land bill became a law in the state of California. It is discriminatory against Asiatics in that while it confers upon aliens eligible to citizenship, the same rights as citizens in the ownership and leasing of real property, it limits leases of agricultural lands by other aliens to periods of three years and ownership to the extent provided by existing treaties.[1]

The Outcome of a Long Struggle. — This anti-Japanese measure, for such it is, was the outcome of various discriminatory measures under consideration by the legislature for many years. In 1909, as a result of the President's intervention, a measure designed to prevent the acquisition of land by Japanese was amended so as to apply to all aliens, and thus lost its discriminatory character and failed to pass. Again in 1911 a measure forbidding the acquisition of land by aliens ineligible to citizenship and forbidding leasing by them, after being passed by one branch of the legislature was killed in the other. Pressure had again been exerted from Washington, and the Asiatic Exclusion League weakened in its hostile position and advised against its enactment. Moreover, the Panama-Pacific Exposition Company had appeared as an opponent of all legislation likely to injure its enterprise, and the governor was satisfied to leave matters as they were. But in 1913 the situation was different, for the national administration was Democratic, the majority of the members of the state legislature and the governor, Progressive-Republican, and instead of the one serving as a check on the other, its intervention assisted in enacting the offensive measure. While the enactment of the law was not merely a piece of politics emanating from a desire "to put the President in a hole," as some have asserted it to be, political considerations had something to do with it.

---

[1] See Appendix A for extracts from the Treaty of Commerce and Navigation and Protocol between Japan and the United States of America of February 21, 1911, and Appendix B for California's Alien Land Law of 1913.

History of the Alien Land Legislation. Election Promises. — The legislative history of the alien land bill is briefly this.[1] Of the state platforms adopted by the political parties in 1913, that of the Democratic party alone contained a plank relative to the holding of land by Asiatics. Not only did that party, as it and other parties had done for years, proclaim itself in favor of an amended exclusion law which would apply to all eastern Asiatics; it inserted in its platform a plank reading, "We favor the passage of a bill that will prevent any alien not eligible to citizenship from owning land in the state of California." Having been a minority party in the legislature when federal intervention had defeated anti-Japanese bills, this plank was given a prominent place in the platform, and in the campaign which followed the subject was made one of the most emphasized issues in the state. Much campaign literature was distributed, some of it attributing to Mr. Wilson the view that the policy of exclusion should be applied in dealing with the problem of "Chinese and Japanese coolie immigration," and calling attention to then President Roosevelt's message of 1906, urging upon Congress amendment of the naturalization law so that the Japanese might become American citizens. Though the Progressive-Republicans as a party took no position on the "Asiatic question" and made their successful fight on a platform calling for constructive progressive legislation, many of the candidates for office went on record in favor of restrictive legislation. Some of them, indeed, had been earnest advocates of such legislation in the previous sessions of the legislature. Moreover, it was closely affiliated with organized labor, which has always been foremost in agitating legislation against Asiatics. The State Federation of Labor and related organizations in 1913 asked the various candidates for office to state their positions with reference to the Asiatic problem, and with the usual result — a majority reported that they were in favor of restrictive legislation. Some, like Mr. Bradford of Sacramento, pledged themselves, if elected, to introduce restrictive measures relating to land ownership by Asiatics. Thus only a minority of the members of the legislature went to Sacramento free from platform or personal pledges. Following the election the Asiatic Exclusion League, which had proved to be timid in 1911, went on record in favor of the radical Sanford measure which had been defeated two years before.[1] This would not only have forbidden the acquisition of land by purchase by Asiatics; but "section 8" provided that "every contract, agreement, or lease of any land made with or to any alien, not eligible to citizenship under the laws of the United States, shall be null and void." And on the other hand, the Panama-Pacific Exposition Company made its plans to prevent discriminating legislation which would imperil the exposition to be held in 1915 and for which the state was being heavily taxed.

---

[1] Its history has been presented fully by Franklin Hichborn in Chapters XVI to XX of his admirable *Story of the California Legislature of 1913*.

Opposition of the Panama-Pacific Exposition Company to Alien Land Legislation.—The Exposition Company worked through a special committee which devoted itself entirely to dealing with the problem involved in discriminatory legislation. An attempt was made to prevent the introduction of measures which might be construed as hostile to Asiatics and thought to be offensive to them, and San Francisco papers, it was said, had agreed to say nothing of failures to redeem preelection and platform pledges. But this effort to "hush up" the whole matter failed and the first days

[1] At its meeting of Dec. 15, 1912.

of the session witnessed the introduction of several bills in Assembly and Senate designed to bar aliens or certain classes of aliens from ownership of the soil.

Various Measures presented to the Legislature to meet the "Problem." — Some of the measures were discriminatory, while others were not, but the "problem" attacked by most of them, if not by all, was that of the holding of agricultural land by Japanese. Most of the men who introduced bills came from districts in which the Japanese were conspicuous as farmers or as laborers in agricultural industries. The Democratic Sanford-Shearer bill (Senate Bill No. 27, Assembly Bill No. 113) squared with the Democratic platform. It was less radical than the Sanford measure, defeated in 1911, in that it did not declare leasing null and void. One Birdsall bill (Senate Bill No. 5) prohibited the acquisition of land by purchase by aliens who had not declared their intention to become citizens, but expressly authorized leasing of lands by such parties. Another bill introduced by the Senator was along the lines of the law finally adopted, aliens other than those eligible to citizenship being limited to the acquisition, possession, enjoyment, and transfer "of real property, or any interest therein, in the manner and to the extent and for the purposes prescribed by any treaty now existing between the Government of the United States and the nation or country of which such alien is a citizen or subject, and not otherwise." Senator Larkin introduced a bill (Senate Bill No. 416) which drew the line between citizens and aliens who had declared their intention to become citizens, and all other aliens, and made unlawful the acquisition by the last named of any real property except by succession or through a debt or lien. Assemblyman Bradford, who had made his campaign on that plank, introduced a bill (Assembly Bill No. 183) prohibiting the acquisition of land by aliens ineligible to citizenship except by succession or through debt, and limiting leases by them to periods of three years, if of real estate for agricultural purposes, of five years if town or city lots. Most of these bills defined as "aliens," for the purpose in hand, corporations a majority of whose stock was held by the class of aliens whose rights they would restrict. Assemblyman Cary introduced a bill (Assembly Bill No. 10) placing limitations upon all aliens and avoiding all discrimination between aliens of different races. And there were other bills relating to land ownership.

Only a Discriminatory Measure Acceptable. — This entire mass of proposed legislation was referred to the Committees on Judiciary of the respective houses. The limitations upon aliens, and especially upon corporations, rather than upon Asiatic aliens, called forth protests from the San Francisco Real Estate Board and Chambers of Commerce, Boards of Trade, and Merchants' Associations meeting in San Francisco February 20, 1913.[1] The opposition was so strong that it eventually became evident that a bill restricting the rights of all aliens, and especially of corporations the majority of whose stock was held by aliens, could not be enacted into law. Too many persons would be affected and the desire for the capital of European investors was too pressing. Only a discriminatory bill could pass. After hearings were held on the various bills, at which representatives[1] of all parties were heard — the spokesmen for the Panama-Pacific Exposition Company, and Dr. Johnson and a few others for the Japanese on the one side, labor leaders, Mr. Phelan, and Elk Grove citizens on the other, the Assembly Committee on Judiciary April 4 reported a discriminatory bill.[2] This substitute bill provided that aliens might acquire land and hold it for one year (or, if minors, until one year after reaching their majority), but that it must then be disposed of unless they declared their intention to become citizens, and that "every corporation, the majority of the issued capital stock of which is owned by aliens who are ineligible to become citizens of the United States under the naturalization laws thereof, shall be considered an alien within the meaning of this act." It limited leases by those aliens whose rights were curtailed to five-year periods. After the enactment of this bill by a vote of 60 to 15, a similar measure was reported by the Judiciary Committee of the Senate. Its clause relating to corporations was not discriminatory, but the objection to it was so great because it was not discriminatory that it was amended to agree with the corresponding clause of the Assembly bill.

---

[1] For these and several other later protests see *Proposed Land Bill: The Other Side*, prepared and published by the Japanese Association of America, San Francisco, 1913.

---

[1] There seems to be little foundation for the statement that the opponents of the proposed legislation were not given a fair opportunity to be heard.

[2] Though few Japanese had leased land about Elk Grove, which is near Florin, an agreement had been signed by most of the landowners to the effect that they would not sell or lease land to Japanese.

How the Public viewed the Proposed Legislation.—Both of these substitute bills discriminated against Asiatics directly in the clauses relating to corporations, and indirectly in the clauses relating to natural persons because they cannot declare their intention to become citizens of the United States under the present naturalization law. Though it grew out of an agitation initiated by labor unions, interest in this proposed legislation became intensive as it was discussed. Most of its support came from the agricultural districts. A great majority of the newspapers favored it. A petition signed by more than seventy persons (though not all of them were residents of the community) was presented from Florin urging that legislation should be enacted before the close of the session. Protests were made by the directors of the Panama-Pacific Exposition Company (several of whom had no further wish than that the matter lay over until another session), the Delta Association of California, representing large landed interests in the Delta country, a group of six persons of Florin, the Peace Committee, the Methodist Preachers, and other organizations of clergymen in their meetings, and a standing committee of Oriental workers. The *Los Angeles Graphic*, the *Los*

Angeles Times, the *San Francisco Chronicle*, the *San Francisco Post*, the *Pasadena News*, the *Fresno Republican*, and the *California Christian Advocate* were prominent among the comparatively few newspapers that opposed the proposed legislation. Intense feeling was reported as existing in Japan, though the statement seems to have been exaggerated, and the Japanese ambassador at Washington protested to the federal government because the proposed legislation was discriminatory against the subjects of his government and not in accord with existing treaty provisions.

After Ineffectual Intervention by the Federal Government, a Law was Enacted. — In spite of opposition the Assembly bill passed and the bill corresponding closely to it made headway in the Senate. When (April 21) the Senate bill was amended so as to discriminate against corporations a majority of whose stock was owned by Asiatics, expressions of preference and precautionary advice from Washington gave way to protest. Finally Mr. Bryan, as a personal representative of the President, came to Sacramento. He counseled postponement, but if that was not deemed advisable, he urged that the legislation should not be of a discriminatory character. To begin with the governor's position was not known. It is known, however, that he had not taken kindly to the suggestion that the pro-Japanese report made by the Labor Commissioner in 1910 should be published. Upon good authority it is stated that for some time the Panama-Pacific Exposition Committee felt assured that he would use his influence to prevent any hostile legislation. But this assurance was not well founded. Rather did he make clever answer to Mr. Bryan's remarks to the members of the legislature. After several days of conference and personal investigation, Mr. Bryan returned to Washington. The net effect of his visit was to add to the determination to enact an alien land law and to cause it to take such guarded shape that it would square technically with the provisions of the treaty between Japan and the United States. After he left, a measure — the Heney-Webb bill — conferring upon aliens other than those eligible to citizenship only such rights of real property as were accorded in existing treaties, was presented, amended so as to permit leasing of agricultural lands for periods not exceeding three years, and quickly passed by both houses. Joint resolutions to postpone action in deference to the President's wishes were defeated in the Senate by a vote of 10 to 26, in the Assembly by a vote of 21 to 49. Several amendments offered in the Senate, one of them to forbid leasing after the expiration of three years, were voted down. So was an amendment in the Assembly to make the laws equally applicable to all aliens. The diciminatory measure was passed by the Senate by a vote of 35 to 2, by the Assembly by a vote of 72 to 3. After waiting from the 2d till the 19th of May, in deference to a request made by Mr. Bryan for an opportunity to present the position of the Federal Administration, the bill was signed by Governor Johnson. With this the scene shifted to Washington, where the statute became the subject of diplomatic correspondence and conferences between the two governments.

The Treaty of Commerce contains no Provision relating to Landownership. — Article I of the Treaty of Commerce and Navigation and Protocol between Japan and the United States of February 21, 1911, reads as follows:

> "The subjects or citizens of each of the high contracting parties shall have liberty to enter, travel, and reside in the territories of the other, to carry on trade, wholesale and retail, to own or lease and occupy houses, manufactories, warehouses, and shops, to employ agents of their choice, to lease land for residential and commercial purposes, and generally to do anything incident to or necessary for trade, upon the same terms as native subjects or citizens, submitting themselves to the laws and regulations there established."

Nowhere does the treaty say anything concerning the purchase and ownership of land. Indeed, the omission appears to have been due to the desire of the Japanese government that it should be left to be dealt with by legislative enactment.[1] The only other part of the treaty of interest here is Article XIV, which confers as good terms in commerce and navigation upon the other contracting party as are conferred upon the subjects or citizens of any other state.

---

[1] So stated in communication of the Secretary of State to Viscount Chinda, July 16, 1913.

The Essentials of the Alien Land Law. — As already stated, advantage was taken of the fact that eastern Asiatics are discriminated against by the federal government in granting citizenship by naturalization, and the alien land law of 1913, except for leaving the leasing of land for agricultural purposes unchanged, save that it is limited to three-year periods, deprived those aliens not eligible to citizenship of the rights they had enjoyed over real property, except as stipulated in existing treaties. The law may be found in Appendix B. So far as Japanese are concerned, it provided (1) that they may lease and occupy houses, manufactories, warehouses, and shops, and, without restriction, lease land for residential and commerical purposes, (2) that they may lease land for agricultural purposes for a term not exceeding three years, and (3) that they may hold land now owned or which they may own in satisfaction of existing liens, until death or sale, but that upon death it may not be succeeded to by those ineligible to citizenship, whereas, until the enactment of this law, aliens and citizens enjoyed the same rights of purchase, ownership, and lease of and succession to real property. Corporations a majority of whose stock is owned by aliens other than those eligible to citizenship, are placed under the same limitations as natural persons.

This not the First Discriminatory Land Legislation, but the First to deprive Japanese of any Substantial Right. — For many years the constitution of the state of Washington had prohibited the purchase of land other than valuable mineral claims "by aliens, other than those who in good faith have declared their intention to become citizens of the United States." Idaho, from 1899 until 1913, when it was repealed, had a law expressly prohibiting ownership of land by aliens ineligible to citizenship unless acquired by foreclosure or similar legal process, when under penalty of escheating to the state, it was to be disposed of within five years.[1] A number of other states also had discriminated against aliens in these matters, but in all of these cases the legislation had not been adopted to discriminate against Japanese.[2] In 1912 Arizona enacted a law providing that "no person not eligible to become a citizen of the United States shall acquire title to any real property within this state," except to satisfy a lien, when it must be disposed of within five years; and limiting leases to periods of five years as a maximum.[3] But the California law was the first to deprive Japanese subjects of any substantial right over real property which they had enjoyed. While the various bills were pending in the legislature, Viscount Chinda protested to the Secretary of State and the President against discriminatory legislation.[4] After a bill was enacted and both before and after its approval by the governor, formal protests were lodged with our government. The protests alleged that the legislation was not only essentially unfair and discriminatory, but that it was inconsistent with treaty provisions and was also opposed to the spirit and fundamental principles of amity and good understanding, upon which the conventional relations of the two nations depend. It was alleged, also, that there was nothing in the existing situation that would warrant such legislation. It was alleged, further, that it was unjust and contrary to the treaty provisions, not only in depriving Japanese of the right to transmit to their legal heirs their already lawfully secured landed property, but in several other respects. Finally, attention was called to the land laws of Japan. "The laws of Japan on the subjects of alien land tenure," it was stated, "are not illiberal, but, in any case, they contain no provisions discriminating in any manner, whatever, against the citizens of the United States. On the contrary, in all that relates to land ownership, as well as in the matter of all other civil rights, the American citizens, without restrictions and without conditions, are accorded in Japan full and complete most favored nation treatment, and there is no desire on the part of the Japanese administration to modify this state of things. What Japan claims is nothing more than fair and equal treatment."[1]

---

[1] Revised Statutes, sections 2609–2610. Repealed March 10, 1913.—Chapter 98 of Session Laws of 1913.

[2] In Idaho the law was adopted to discriminate against Chinese and others of Mongolian descent.

[3] Chapter 71, Laws of Arizona, 1912.

[4] A summary statement prepared by the Japanese government presents the nature of the correspondence and the conferences at Washington very well and is deemed of sufficient interest to incorporate in this report as Appendix C.

---

[1] Telegram from His Imperial Majesty's Minister of Foreign Affairs to Viscount Chinda, August 23, 1913, handed to Mr. Bryan, August 26, 1913.

It becomes Clear that our Political Organization is not well fitted for Dealing with International Questions. — To these allegations it was replied that the act in question should not be interpreted as an unfriendly one, but one growing out of certain economic conditions in California, rather than out of race feeling, and that the declared intention of the law was to respect and preserve all rights under existing treaties. Moreover, attention was called to the fact that if the intent to preserve all such rights failed of accomplishment, the aggrieved parties had the right to resort to the federal courts for the enforcement of their rights. There, after many months, the matter stands. Only these things are clear: (1) that the Japanese government looks to the federal government to prevent discriminatory treatment of its subjects, and (2) that our political organization is a poor one for dealing with international questions. States may do things of serious international importance, and the federal government does not have power to stay their hands.

In the Opinion of the Writer, the Alien Land Law is Unjust, Impolitic, and Unnecessary.—Soon after the enactment of the alien land law in California, the writer ventured the opinion that under the circumstances which obtained, it was unjust, impolitic, and unnecessary legislation.[1] Further investigation has convinced him of the correctness of this view. Only the possibility of further discussion and legislation by initiative in the event of a failure to enact a law relating to the matter, would constitute sufficient reason for what was done.

---

[1] In an article in *The Survey*, June 7, 1913.

Why the Law is Unjust. — Though the statute enacted does not confiscate property now owned, though it provides that the heirs shall receive the proceeds from the sale of property to which in the absence of limitations they would succeed, and though it protects existing liens on real estate, it is unjust legislation. It is unjust because it takes advantage of discrimination under the naturalization law to further discriminate between aliens of different races lawfully in this country. It limits the property rights of those who must remain aliens and safeguards those of others who might, but do not, become citizens. It changes the law with reference to the ownership of the soil which no doubt furnished a motive for some to immigrate. Moreover, as the representatives of the Japanese government have pointed out on many occasions, subjects of the United States are not only accorded the same property rights as other aliens in Japan, but these rights are extensive. Though aliens may not own land in fee simple because the government has not as yet placed in effect a law passed by the Japanese Parliament in 1910 conferring that right, they may lease land for such long periods and under such conditions that the difference is not great.[1] Hence the California law is not reciprocal.

---

[1] See communication by Mr. Numano, acting consul general of Japan, to the editor of the *Sacramento Bee*, published by Dr. Gulick, in *American-Japanese Problem*, pp. 336–339, for a statement covering the entire matter.

It must be borne in mind, however, that equal rights conferred by law may not be equally substantial in fact, and such is the case here. The rights of real property of American citizens in Japan are worth little except in connection with property used for residential, commercial, and business purposes. There is no immigration from the United States to Japan to take advantage of such opportunities as her natural resources have to offer, with the result that reciprocal laws would not confer equal benefits. Nevertheless, there is injustice in not following Japan's principle of equal treatment of aliens — unless it can be shown that an emergency required deviation from that principle.

Why the Law is Impolitic. — The law is impolitic because it is opposed to the spirit and fundamental principles of amity and good understanding, upon which the conventional relations of the two nations depend. It is the kind of legislation that retards and interferes with commercial relations, and no large part of the foreign commerce to which California is a party is with Japan. The development of closer commercial relations with Japan and other eastern Asiatic countries should be cherished, not retarded and interfered with. Fortunately Japan has not in the slightest diminished her coöperation in the Panama-Pacific Exposition, but such legislation cannot be of assistance in further enterprises of that kind. Of much more importance, the Japanese government, in spite of much complaint and criticism at home, has kept faith with the United States in the administration of the agreement relating to the granting of passports to emigrants. Such legislation tends, however, to bring about a situation in which such coöperation cannot be expected. Finally, investigation makes it evident that ownership carries with it the closest approach to American standards and the best opportunities for assimilation. With ownership, and especially of agricultural land, "squatter life" gives way to the better living conditions made possible only by a fixed residence and property interests. Those who own land develop an interest in their property and in the community in which they reside, not to be expected of those not so firmly attached. And, most important, the effect is cumulative. One good farmer who has an interest in the community and who wishes to become thoroughly American does much to improve the ideals and life and to further the assimilation of his countrymen. Not the least sin of the alien land law is that it removes this positive force making for rapid assimilation and puts in its stead a feeling of resentment which stands in the way of the development of the best living and the fullest assimilation.

With the Present Restricted Immigration, the Law was Unnecessary. — Had we an unrestricted immigration of Japanese, an acute situation would undoubtedly arise in connection with the ownership of the soil. It cannot be disputed that with large numbers and time, many agricultural communities would become Japanese, and being only slightly affected by their new environment in cultural ways, would become encysted in the American population.

That such would be the case is adequately proved by the fact that the Japanese greatly desire ownership of farm lands and compete for them on the basis of a standard which makes them successful competitors. With large numbers, and these would be realized in the absence of restrictive immigration legislation, the Japanese would gain possession of the soil, especially in California, which is not only easiest of access but most attractive to them. But the fact is that numbers are small, and unless there is a change in the present immigration policy will not become large. The high wages to be earned now that Japanese laborers have a scarcity value and the handicap the Japanese are under in securing farm labor tend to check independent farming by them. Though in the absence of prohibition more land would be purchased by them and some communities would undergo a change in the racial composition of their population and in their social life, nothing approaching a real problem could very well arise.

There was no Real Problem of Land Ownership by Japanese in California in 1913. — There was, then, no real problem connected with the ownership of farm land by Japanese in California in 1913. In 1912, according to the assessment rolls (for March of that year) they owned in California 331 farms with an acreage of 12,726, with an assessed value (including improvements) of $609,605. They owned, also, the insignificant number of 218 town lots, with an assessed value of $235,675. The total acreage of improved farm lands in California is in excess of 11,000,000; its value, according to the

Census of 1910, more than $1,300,000,000. The totals of Japanese holdings and values were insignificant. Moreover, in only three counties of the state were as many as twenty farms owned by them, the largest number, 31, being found in Fresno. In only three counties did their combined holdings aggregate a thousand acres. In Fresno County they owned 4,776 acres, in Tulare County, 1,053, in Merced, 1,049. Finally, it may be noted that the acreage owned by Japanese increased during the three years 1909 to 1912, by only 1,935 acres, that is from 10,791 to 12,726.[1] Of course a considerable number of purchases were made in 1913 because of the limitations which were imminent, and it would appear that there were some contracts for purchase where the property had not been transferred and was still assessed in the name of non-Japanese. It is in this way, no doubt, that the figures given by Japanese authorities, always somewhat larger than those obtained from the assessment lists, are explained.

But there was Fear of what might Happen. — But as Mr. Rowell has stated, the legislation was due not so much to what had happened as to a fear of the future. "It may be asserted unconditionally," he writes, "that the menace of Japanese ownership in California is not a present fact, but is a fear of the future. . . . The intense interest aroused in the whole proposal is based upon this imaginative picture of what some day might happen, rather than upon any present facts of what has happened. In the case of landholding, — instead of dominating anything, the Japanese are practically a neglible quantity. . . . These figures . . . are relatively insignificant in a state which has single holdings of millions of acres. All of the Japanese farms in California, owned or leased, could be located on the Miller and Lux ranches and be lost in the shuffle." [1]

---

[1] See Report of the (California) Bureau of Labor Statistics, 1911-1912, pp. 633-636.

Feeling that an Immigration Problem actually Exists. — My investigations show that there is a very general impression among well-informed men in labor and political, and, to some extent, in agricultural, circles, that the agreement with Japan has not proved to be as restrictive of immigration as it has in fact been and that the number of Japanese in the state is increasing all the while. With time they expect to see numerous communities develop a situation like that at Florin, and comparatively few Californians see anything good in that. Some of the best-informed and most honestly-minded men in the legislature of 1913 believed, and perhaps still believe, that there is a present Japanese immigration problem and that a land problem naturally follows. Frequent repetition of current information and misinformation, the impossibility of overtaking and correcting exaggerated statements, and what is believed to be positive misrepresentation, have combined to cause honest, intelligent, and fair-minded men to see a menace in Japanese landownership. How much such statements as that published by the Asiatic Exclusion League in

---

[1] In the *California Outlook*, April 26, 1913, pp. 5-6.

November, 1912, have influenced men's minds, it is impossible to say. The statement to which reference is made affirmed that the Japanese owned and controlled fertile land in California equal to a strip five miles wide the entire length of the state, and that "ten years from now, at the present rate of increase, the Japanese will be in absolute possession of the agricultural resources of the State of California, and the white farmer will be in the same class as the woolly rhinoceros."[1] Of course such a statement is so absurd that intelligent men would not be directly influenced by it. Nevertheless, given the proper atmosphere, sweeping assertions take on general form until it is asserted that everybody knows it to be true that there is a real menace in the near future, and misrepresentation has its influence.

Opposition to Ownership of Land by Japanese General in California. — My limited investigations would indicate that there is a very general opposition in California to the ownership of farm lands by Japanese. Of course there are many who are very pronounced in their opposition to the present law, and many others regard it as simply unfortunate and ill-advised legislation, but a very considerable majority uphold it. Whatever the motives and personal opinions of the members of the legislature may have been, in casting their votes as they did, they represented the majority of voters.

To many the alien land bill was merely an anti-Japanese, or, possibly, an anti-Asiatic, measure and appealed to them as such. It was a way of giving vigorous expression to their feelings. This was an important element in the situation. But in trade union circles the statement was frequently made that "you must keep after them all the time. Not only are they taking the land, but if you do not keep up the fight, the agreement will be repudiated, or not carried out, the bars will be let down even lower than at present, and a horde of cheap laborers will be let in." There are intelligent men who honestly believe that an immigration problem is involved. Among the farmers the statement was likely to be in substance: "See how they come into a community and monopolize the labor and drive other laborers out. Next they lease the land and they then begin to buy. Other farmers then want to sell and sooner or later the community becomes Japanese." More than once, in support of this position, was attention called to an instance like that cited by a prominent man, formerly state senator and now a congressman-elect, who said he had purchased, a few years ago, a forty-acre ranch and that Japanese had then purchased on either side of him, with the result that his ranch became undesirable for white families and had depreciated in value. Some large landowners and fruit shippers who were pronounced in their opposition to the prohibition of leasing by Asiatics stated that they favored the alien land act because it did not give Asiatics a firm foothold and a permanent position in the community. If they secured a permanent position, the community would become Japanese. The thing uppermost with others, however, is the feeling that there should not be economic equality between the races. They feel as did the senator who, when the alien land bill was under consideration, said that he was quite willing Asiatics should do the hard work and harvest the crops, but that if he had his way they should not grow them as independent farmers. Inferior men, as he ranked them, should occupy an inferior position.

---

[1] Bulletin Asiatic Exclusion League, November, 1912, p. 267.

The Latest Anti-Japanese Movement has as its Object the Prohibition of Leasing of Agricultural Land. — Thus anti-Japanese feeling and a felt economic necessity lend support to the alien land law. Unless an emergency should arise or the law should be held to be unconstitutional, it will remain upon the statute books, at least for the present. Whether it will be amended so as to prohibit the leasing of agricultural lands is the question now raised in the latest anti-Japanese movement.

It will be recalled that the Sandford bill, which "died" in the legislature in 1911, absolutely prohibited the leasing of land by aliens ineligible to citizenship. So did some of the measures considered in 1913, but the Heney-Webb bill, limiting narrowly the rights of such aliens to those conferred by existing treaties when reported, was amended so as to permit the leasing of land for agricultural purposes for periods not exceeding three years. This limitation to three years is proving to be a serious limitation on leasing in some localities, where the growing of strawberries and certain other crops calls for the use of the land for four, five, six, and, in the case of asparagus, for ten years. Yet organized labor maintains that the leasing clause, without which leasing of agricultural lands by Asiatics would have been unlawful, was "slipped in" when the bill was hurriedly enacted. Organized labor and the Anti-Jap Laundry League of San Francisco have inaugurated a movement to amend the law so as to deprive aliens ineligible to citizenship of this limited right to become tenant farmers.

Candidates for Office Questioned. — Under date of July 20, 1914, "the Legislative Conference, representing the California State Federation of Labor, the State Building Trades Council of California, and the Affiliated Central Councils and Local Unions throughout California" submitted numerous questions to all candidates for nomination at the primary election for legislative office, and requested that these candidates should state their position with regard to them. Among the ten questions asked of candidates for the office of congressman or senator was "Do you favor an extension of the Chinese Exclusion Act so as to bar all Asiatics?" Number "9" among the twelve questions submitted to candidates for the state legislature reads: "Do you favor amending the alien land law by eliminating the leasing clause?" These questions were submitted also by the Anti-Jap Laundry League to all candidates for office in San Francisco. Almost exactly one half of the candidates for the legislature answered the question relating to leasing and almost all of them in the affirmative. Most of those who were opposed to such legislation, and no doubt some others, failed to reply. Likewise, nearly all of those who replied to the questions submitted by the Laundry League favored the discriminating legislation to which the questions related. Only here and there did a candidate answer in the negative. The questions show the attitude of organized labor; their submission has resulted in pledges by many of those who have been elected members of the legislature, soon to convene, to support an "anti-leasing" bill.

Labor Leaders favor an Anti-leasing Measure. — Conferences with leaders in trade union circles revealed the fact that a further limitation of the kind proposed finds all but unanimous support among them, and for the same reasons that the present prohibition of landownership finds favor. It is anti-Japanese and affords them an opportunity to record their feelings and to safeguard the country against an immigration problem to develop at almost any time, if not already present. They hope, also, that the prohibition of leasing will discourage immigration from other states to California, will cause some Japanese to return to their native land, and will discourage the immigration of wives and prevent the appearance of a large native Japanese population.

Opinions in Farming Communities Vary. — In the farming communities, the small ranchers who do their own work and a considerable number of others, though less pronounced in their views, are of the same opinion as the trade union leaders.

Some of these men are prominent and of excellent standing in the communities where they live, and a few of them are well known throughout the state, if not beyond its confines. They object to the development of tenant farming, assert that leasing by Japanese tends to prevent subdivision of large holdings and settlement by families who would do most of their own work, and in this and in other ways keeps down the influx of white families, and maintain that the effect upon the community life of a large settled Japanese population is bad. But in farming communities opinion is very much divided so far as any existed at the time of my visits (in July and August) and it would appear that any further discriminatory legislation against the tenure of land by Japanese would result largely from the political activity of organized labor. In fact it is scarcely fair to say that opinion is very much divided, for a great many of those who favor prohibition of ownership, oppose prohibition of leasing by Asiatics, and it would appear that the proponents of the new measure are in the minority. Many who favor the present land law say that prohibition of leasing would "carry it too far." Business men and others who oppose the present land law are of course opposed to its amendment so as to make it still more restrictive. Large landholders and fruit and produce shippers very generally maintain that leasing is desirable. Much of it is a convenient way of arranging for needed labor; it is generally agreed that the Japanese tenants not only pay the largest rents, but are good orchardists and farmers and better tenants than the white men seeking land to lease; and the point is made that in many cases tenant farming by Asiatics is incidental to developing ranches from reclaimed land, or orchards or vineyards from waste or "hay land," and that where this is true, the tenants' contribution to the physical development of the community is an important one. Needless to say this is quite true. One needs only to note the development of the thousands of acres of reclaimed land along the Sacramento and San Joaquin rivers, and the gradual expansion of orchards at Watsonville and of vineyards at Florin with incidental strawberry growing by Japanese, to appreciate the contribution to California agricultural development by Asiatic tenant farmers that has been made. There is still much land it would be well to develop in the same way.

Little to be said for and Much against a Prohibition of Leasing. — Though tenant farming causes a large number of Japanese to settle in a restricted area and this presents its problems, though the Asiatics generally pay higher rents than other would-be tenants and compete upon an undesirable plane, though their farming tends to prevent rapid progress in the subdivision of large tracts now farmed to be settled and cultivated by the owner and his family, little more can be said in favor of a prohibition of leasing. Much ought to be said against it. To prohibit leasing by Asiatics would be regarded as an unfriendly act and would be far more impolitic than the enactment of the present law has proved to be. It would be extremely unjust. It would deprive several thousand of a substantial right they have already availed themselves of in leasing many thousands of acres and a right which American subjects would have in Japan if they wished to exercise it. A majority of the tenant farmers have equipped themselves with work animals, tools, and machinery which would be worth little to them if they could neither buy nor lease land. A majority of them have their wives and children here. One object in leasing is to provide them with a home. Were leasing now prohibited, they would be under the necessity of going to other states, returning to Japan, immigrating to the cities, or becoming a part of the more or less migratory labor supply. Perhaps they would most frequently accept the third of these alternatives. If they did, it would be to fit square pegs into round holes, to cause greater competition between small shops in the laundry and other trades, and to place a premium on "poor living" in the towns and cities. If they reverted to the earlier position of agricultural laborers, it would be cruel in many cases to wives and children. Moreover, most of the good in the social life of the Japanese in the agricultural communities has come with the wives and children who have helped to form a settled population. The prohibition of leasing would not only stand in the way of the assimilation of the Japanese who are here, but would prove to be demoralizing to them.

Thus, while investigation would lead one at least not to inveigh strongly against the motives of most of those who favor alien land legislation, and to recognize that farming by Asiatics has brought with it its problems, the discriminatory legislation, actual and proposed, is to be deplored. The present prohibition of land ownership is unjust, impolitic, and, *with a restricted immigration,* unnecessary. The proposed prohibition of leasing would be still worse. It is more unjust, more impolitic, and more objectionable on social grounds than prohibition of ownership, and on the plea of necessity has still slighter excuse.

CHAPTER IX

JAPANESE CHARACTERISTICS AND THE WESTERN MIND

Many Measures discriminating against Japanese have been presented to Legislatures. — Alien land legislation is only a part of the discriminatory measures which have been proposed against Japanese, most of them in California. For ten years or more numerous bills of a discriminatory character have been presented in the legislature at Sacramento. In 1913 no fewer than thirty-four were introduced. In addition to those relating to land tenure, were bills increasing the license fee of Japanese fishermen, providing for the segregation of Asiatic school children, prohibiting the issuance of liquor licenses to Japanese, forbidding the use of power engines by them, providing for the imposition of a special poll tax upon them, and prohibiting the employment of white women by Asiatics. Discriminatory measures, though far less numerous, have been introduced in the legislatures of some of the other western states also. Thus in Montana a school segregation bill was introduced some years ago but it was unfavorably reported by the committee on military affairs. During the session of 1909 of the Nevada legislature strong anti-Japanese resolutions commending the Japanese land bill and the school segregation bill then pending in the California legislature were adopted by the lower house, but were defeated in the senate as a result of influence brought to bear from Washington through the United States senators from Nevada.[1]

Likewise in City Councils. — Corresponding to these have been discriminatory ordinances in city councils and other legislative bodies. Reference need be made only to the school segregation order of the San Francisco School Board in 1906 and the refusal, until recently, on the part of the Board of Supervisors of that city to grant Japanese the permits necessary to operate steam laundries.

Most of them not aimed at Real Problems. — Some of these measures were designed to deal with real problems, but most of them have had even less reason than the California alien land law of 1913. They were more than anything else *anti-Japanese*, just as a great deal of legislation of a few decades ago was anti-Chinese.

Also much Discrimination of an Unofficial Character. — Along with the numerous attempts at discrimination in the law much discrimination of an unofficial character has been practiced. Reference has been made to the fairly general discrimination against Japanese practiced by white barbers in the cities of the Pacific Coast. Many "middle price" restaurants, lodging houses, and hotels have, also, discriminated against them. Here and there they are denied admission to moving picture shows or are assigned to special and the less desirable seats. One theater in Portland and two in San Francisco admit them only to the galleries. In a few instances, such as those mentioned by Mr. Kawakami in his interesting book, *Asia at the Door*, they have been and are discriminated against even by the Y. M. C. A. But it is unnecessary to mention more details of this character. Rather should it be pointed out, in order to prevent misunderstanding, that in many places there is little or no discrimination or active opposition. There is less of both now than there was five years ago. But while there are instances of active coöperation between the races, the Japanese are not given a normal place in the community, and discrimination is widespread. There is in most places a strong tendency to limit association with them to business relations.

---

[1] Immigration Commission, Reports, Vol. 23, p. 172.

Why an Anti-Japanese Feeling? — In so far as this discriminatory treatment is not due to real problems, in so far as it is due to anti-Japanese feeling, it raises the question, Why should such feeling exist? Why is the line drawn against the members of this race in so many instances? Before attempting to answer this question, however, it will be well to present a few details relating to the character of the Japanese.

The Japanese have Merit. — That the Japanese are intelligent, studious, cleanly in their habits, generous, temperate, moral, law-abiding, industrious, and ambitious cannot be denied. Some of these things have been noted in the preceding pages. Others should be commented on briefly in order to show what the Japanese problem is not and to get a basis for discussing other things to be considered in this report.

They are well Educated.—Japan has good schools and a relatively low percentage of illiterates. Though some of those who came to the continent from Hawaii had been drawn from the stratum of the population with the fewest advantages in their native land, in the matter of schooling and literacy the Japanese, taken as a whole, compare favorably with immigrants from Europe and are vastly superior to the Chinese and the Mexicans. Most of them before immigrating had completed the grades corresponding to those of our common schools, many of them had completed a high school course, and not a few had graduated from colleges, while a large percentage of them have had some schooling in the United States. As would be expected, more than nine in ten read and write their native language, and a very considerable percentage of them can now read and write English also. A few data drawn from the Census and from the investigations made by the Immigration Commission may be presented to show how the Japanese compare with other races in the United States in these respects.

Comparative Statistics Relating to Literacy.—According to the Census for 1910, the percentage of illiterates among Japanese ten years of age and over was 9.2; the corresponding figures for the Chinese, foreign-born whites, and native whites were respectively, 15.8, 12.7, and 3.0. Though it had been influenced by the restrictions upon immigration, the percentage of illiterate Japanese (9.2) was only slightly larger than that (7.7) of all races in the population combined. Comparisons with different races of immigrants from Europe and Mexico would be of interest, but the general volumes of the Census have not made this possible. From the reports of the Immigration Commission it is possible, however, to make some interesting comparisons of races engaged in the same branches of employment. Thus, in maintenance of way on the steam railroads, the following percentages of literates were found for races employed in large numbers: Japanese, 98.4; North Italians, 82.9; Greeks, 82.5; South Italians, 67.3; Mexicans, 43.9. Corresponding percentages for those employed in the mining of coal and manufacture of coke in the West were: Finns, 100; English, 98.8; Germans, 98.1; Japanese, 96.3; North Italians, 92.8; Slovenians, 90.6; Croatians, 85.7; Poles, 85.3; Montenegrins, 84.9; Slovaks, 84.1; South Italians, 70.0. Further detail need not be presented. After considering such figures as these the Immigration Commission reported: "It is evident from the preceding discussion that the standard of literacy shown by the Japanese . . . is far higher than that shown by the Chinese, the Mexicans, and most of the South and East European races, if comparison is limited to those who are employed in the same industries and at the same kind of work."[1]

---

[1] Immigration Commission, Reports, Vol. 23, p. 151.

Japanese Eager to learn English.—That, taken as a whole, the Japanese are studious every one knows. It is shown by the large percentage who study in the "camps" and by the large number of schools conducted by Japanese missions and other organizations for adult Japanese. After commenting on the number of schools of this type in different Western cities, the Immigration Commission states:

"In fact, in all cities of the West with more than a few hundred Japanese there are schools, the primary object of which is to teach adult Japanese the English language. The number of these institutions and the many Japanese immigrants who attended them at an earlier time when many immigrants were arriving are the best evidence of the ambition and eagerness of the members of this race to learn western civilization. No adult immigrants in the West, unless it is the Hebrews, show as great desire to learn the English language."[1]

They have a High Standard of Personal Cleanliness.—Though there is room for much improvement in the care of houses and camps occupied by Japanese, the members of this race are less open to criticism than several of the European races similarly circumstanced. A roadmaster told the writer a few years ago that all of the Japanese section hands on his division had been discharged because they were not satisfied with the bunk cars with which they were provided. Greeks had been substituted for them and were satisfied with their quarters. "The Japanese," he said, "are too particular." Recently I was told by an anti-Japanese labor unionist that one of the "camps" not far away was Japanese. Inquiry as to the number employed there and other details elicited only the statement that she knew only that the "camp" was Japanese because it was so much cleaner than those occupied by Italians and Greeks, who were employed in large numbers in that particular locality. In their persons and dress they are especially careful in this matter. One seldom finds a "camp" or a "shack" too rude in its equipment to be without bathing facilities. The day's work is usually followed by a hot bath.

---

[1] Immigration Commission, Reports, Vol. 23, p. 153.

Are Generous in their Relations with Others.— The Japanese are very "personal" in their relations, and are frequently generous to a fault in showing their appreciation of others. They frequently spend on entertainment and in making gifts money badly needed for other things.

Are generally Temperate.—As the Immigration Commission observed: "The Japanese as a race are temperate. Though there is much drinking at restaurants and in 'camps,' instances are rare in which drunkenness has interfered with their efficiency in any branch of employment."[1] In their superiority in this matter is found one reason for their preference by roadmasters over the South European immigrants who have shared maintenance of way work with them. Of the various

[1] Reports, Vol. 23, p. 166.

places investigated, the largest number of Japanese saloons and drinking places was noted in Los Angeles, but about them not one drunken Japanese was seen.

Have fought the Evil of Prostitution. — Their record in the matter of prostitution has not been so good. In different places prostitution has, in fact, been a problem. Until recently advantage was taken of the admission of "picture brides" to bring into this country women to be used for immoral purposes. It can be said truthfully, however, that the Japanese have never compared unfavorably with other races similarly circumstanced in that most of the men were leading the lives of single men in a foreign country, and that the evil among them has never been as great as among certain other races, as, for example, the Chinese and the Greeks. It can be said, also, that an equal organized effort to end it all has not been witnessed in the case of any other race. The Japanese associations in Fresno and various other places have fought the evil with much success and frequently without more than a reluctant coöperation on the part of the police and courts. The abuse of the privilege of bringing in "picture brides" has been practically ended by the earnest coöperation of the Japanese government through its consular representatives. Each case is carefully investigated in advance and every effort is made to see that no imposition is practiced.

Are Law-abiding. — That the members of this race are generally law-abiding must be admitted.

Of course a few crimes of a serious nature have been committed, but blackmail, the black hand, and the like have been conspicuously absent. Arrests for theft are strikingly few. Being temperate, industrious, and not given to theft, the number of arrests and convictions has everywhere been very favorable to the members of this race. No doubt the figures are somewhat more favorable than they should be, for as a general rule the police pay less attention to misdemeanors and minor crimes in the Asiatic quarters then elsewhere just so long as others are not disturbed. Yet the facts relating to the observance of law and the maintenance of order are distinctly favorable to the Japanese as against most other immigrant races and the native born. As the Immigration Commission reported:

> "With regard to criminal acts, the record of the Japanese immigrants is very good. For example, in San Francisco from 1900 to 1907 less than 100 Japanese were reported among the commitments, a remarkably small number, if the size of the Japanese population of that city and the number of Greeks, Italians, and others committed are considered."

Gambling the Worst Evil among the Japanese; the Situation calls for Vigorous Action.—The worst evil among the Japanese in the cities and towns is gambling. They are frequently guilty of this misdemeanor, and the efforts of the Japanese associations and other organizations have been successful only in limiting it to some extent. The situation is not as bad as it was some years ago, when, as Mr. Kawakami says, the Chinese gambling dens levied from the Japanese a toll of several million dollars every year. Such improvement as has been made has been due to the organized effort of the Japanese to rid their communities of agents of Chinese gambling houses and to bring about a separation of their quarter from that of the Chinese. Where, as in Sacramento, this separation has been effected, the evil has been reduced to much smaller proportions. Where it has not been effected, gambling is still a distinct evil. It is not too much to say that gambling is the most important business followed by the Chinese in the majority of the towns and cities in the West with an Oriental population, and that their victims are largely Japanese. The blame lies chiefly, however, with the incompetent public officials who permit such evils to continue just "so long as the Orientals gamble among themselves." In Portland I am reliably informed that of some thirty Chinese shops in two blocks of the new part of the partially relocated Chinese quarter, gambling is the main business of all but one. The "business" presumed to be carried on by the others is a mere cloak for the games conducted. From personal knowledge it can be said that Walnut Grove, Isleton, and several other small villages in California are plague spots in which many Chinese are living without honest effort and at the expense of the Japanese. The indifference and general failure of the local governments to deal with Chinese gambling houses and the extent of the evil warrant action by the federal government if it can find an adequate method which will be legal. If it could convict and then deport a considerable number of Chinese gamblers, it would be a great moral gain and accomplish more for the improvement of the Japanese than any other one thing. At almost every place the writer has visited, consular officers, secretaries of Japanese associations, missionaries, and others interested in the welfare and conversant with the life of the Japanese, have asked, "Cannot something be done to meet this evil?" It calls for effective action.

They present no Problem of Dependency. — Not only are the Japanese industrious; they are well organized to care for those who are unfortunate enough to be in need of assistance, so that few have become dependent upon the public. They have brought with them no problem of dependency and the number of insane has been small.

An Immigration Commission Summary. — After examining the details relating to such matters as these, the Immigration Commission presented this summary statement:

> "Thus the Japanese have a comparatively small percentage of illiterates among them, are intelligent and eager to learn of American institutions, make a fairly rapid progress in learning to speak English, and usually good progress in learning to read and write it. They have not proved to be burdensome to the community because of pauperism or crime."

In such matters as have been commented on, no one can find support for the contention that the

Japanese are undesirable. They must command respect.

But the Japanese not much Criticized for Deficiencies of Character. — It may be said, however, that the Japanese have not been very much criticized for any deficiencies of this nature. It is true that they have been misrepresented in these respects by some opposed to them. Yet the chances are nine in ten that no incorrect criticism of such a nature will be made by those who maintain that the Japanese are undesirable when explaining why they think so. The reasons for the opposition and widespread discrimination are of a different character.

Reasons given for Discrimination Vary. — In passing from these considerations to the question as to why there has been and is widespread, though, be it noted, not universal discrimination against and opposition to the Japanese in the West, and more especially in California, one begins to tread on less sure ground. Perhaps no two would agree in their answers to the question. One of the most interesting facts is that the details entering into the answers given by different persons differ, and the emphasis placed upon these details differs still more. And the differences in the answers are as significant as they are interesting.

Character of the Western People an Important Factor. — A fact to be placed in the foreground is that, considered as a whole, the people of the West are impulsive, frank, independent, and quick to react when cause is given. Nothing regarded as an evil is taken for granted. There is no obstacle too big to be overcome. A large percentage of the population is of men attracted by the frontier; many more have descended from them. California still shows traces of the days of '49. It is only a few decades since ambitious and restless men rushed there from many parts of the world. Much that is interesting in the history of the state is colored by that fact. In explaining the widespread opposition to Japanese we have to explain how a Western people react when confronted by certain details connected with the character and activities of immigrants of that race.

The Japanese a Colored Race. — Few men of the West accept the Japanese on the same terms as they do the representatives of the different branches of the white race because they are colored. Being a mixture of Malay, Mongolian, Tartar, Caucasian, and negro or Negrito elements, they stand out in a population predominantly white. While many missionaries, artists, scholars, and travelers do not react naturally against the colored races, this is not true of the average man. There is such a thing as a consciousness of kind and a consciousness of the unlike. Color marks a difference in kind most people are more or less conscious of. This is a fundamental fact of no little importance and especially in California, where there is a Southern element in the population in whom the natural feeling of opposition to a colored race has been deepened by the presence and struggle over the negro.

Different Environments have accentuated Racial Differences. — Color is, however, only one of the differences between the Japanese and the dominant elements in the white race. For centuries these races have lived and moved in different environments. Different types of mind, a somewhat different outlook on life, somewhat different attitudes toward government, and somewhat different attitudes toward the family and other institutions, have resulted. The Japanese and the European and American peoples have been molded in different ways, and it would appear that few are unconscious of the fact when the two races are brought into close association. These differences are accentuated by the difficulties of different languages. They attract some but repel most people. The first factor in analyzing the situation to answer the question raised is found in racial differences which not only limit association but generally repel. The emphasis, however, must be placed on the difference in color, for association between the races has been so limited that these other and less obvious differences are scarcely known to the great majority of white men.

The Japanese inherited the Prejudice against the Chinese. — Another factor, and a very powerful one, is that the immigration of the Japanese followed that of the Chinese. The whole history of the Japanese in this country has been colored by that fact. The Chinese came to the West under such circumstances that they stood in striking contrast to all other elements in the population. With a different language, with queue and different dress, with no family life, with different customs, and steeled against change as they were, the reaction against them was strong and immediate when they ceased to be objects of curiosity. That they underbid others when seeking employment merely added strength to the reaction and fury to the opposition with which they would have met under any circumstances. As a result of the struggle that ensued they were assigned the inferior place they unprotestingly accepted. The Chinaman was a good loser. Then came the Japanese. They came from the same "quarter of the earth," were of related color, had a similar language, accepted the same economic rank as the Chinese, frequently occupied their bunkhouses, and underbid for work as did the Chinaman. What wonder, though they were vastly different peoples, that the Japanese should be set down as being in the same category as the Chinese? In men's minds they were assigned the same place to begin with. Moreover, it was assumed that they should continue to occupy it. Not to do so was to be regarded as undesirable, as will be shown presently. The writer's investigations of the matter extending over some twelve years have led him to emphasize the fact that the Japanese followed the Chinese as Oriental immigrants to the West as an important one in explaining the situation which has developed, especially in California. But there have been numerous other elements in the situation.

Economic Conflict Important in arousing the Opposition of Laborers.—One of the most important factors in developing a feeling of opposition is found in the economic conflict accompanying the admission of the Japanese. In many instances they underbid. They competed on different terms. Each economic circle has its more or less well-defined standards and it reacts strongly when these are thought to be endangered. Laborers reacted most strongly first of all because they thought their standards were imperiled. The Chinese acquired a firm position in the manufacture of cigars, shoes, and garments in San Francisco. They were used to defeat the ends of organized labor, and the labor unionists reacted strongly against them as they do against other "scabs" and cheap workmen. In other parts of the country, for example in the manufacture of shoes in Massachusetts, there was talk of hiring the Chinese to take the places of striking union men and to control the labor situation. They were a menace — as workingmen saw them. Were not the Japanese also? Did they not begin very much as the Chinese? Would not history repeat itself? Were they not employed as strike breakers in the manufacture of shoes in San Francisco? White laborers reacted against the Japanese because they competed on a different level. It does not matter so much that their competition never extended far when their immigration was not greatly restricted. It was potential in any case. Moreover, the competitors were well organized under contractors. From the boarding houses and elsewhere they were collected by their "bosses" and made easily available. The effectiveness of the organization in securing work was as important, in fact more important, than the underbidding in wages in determining the result of the struggle. The labor unions stand for the setting of progressive standards and offer strong resistance when any group of men or set of circumstances threaten or seem to threaten these standards. Without organization, workingmen react in very much the same way in the face of new competition.

Also of Others. — Other classes have reacted only less radically than the laborers when their economic level was reached, if their standards were deviated from or if their business was curtailed by the new competitors. Laundrymen in San Francisco and elsewhere, barbers, proprietors of small tailor shops, and others have protested when the Japanese have entered the circle of competition and cut prices or brought about a loss of patronage. The cry of "race problem" has been employed to accomplish economic ends. The growers of vegetables about Tacoma and Seattle, and the growers of berries about Los Angeles have protested ineffectively when the acreage has been increased by Japanese growers and prices have fallen. The newcomers "ruined the market," it was said. Italian and other tenants have protested when Japanese competed with them and paid a higher rent for land. Just so far as competition has extended and standards have been affected or there seemed to be reason to believe that there was danger that they would be affected, has there been the most effective "bread and butter" reason for opposition to the Japanese.

Opposition becomes less marked as Differences in Standards Disappear. — In the competitive struggle is found by far the most important single cause of the active opposition to and discrimination against the Japanese. This is indicated by the more liberal attitude when the standards of the races become the same. There is, on the whole, much less feeling against the Japanese than there was five or six years ago, and most of the change has been due to the gradual disappearance of underbidding and related matters in competition. Where active opposition has more recently appeared, it will almost always be found to be closely connected with newly developed competition.

The Charge of Dishonesty frequently Made. — One charge frequently made against the Japanese by farmers, shippers, and business men is that many of them are dishonest and will not observe contracts entered into. The charge carries with it an exaggeration of the facts. The charges have been more sweeping than the facts warranted.

The Facts in the Case. — The Chinese are notoriously honest in all contractual relations, and it is with them, and especially with the best element of them now engaged in agriculture and business, that the Japanese are compared. In California, especially, there have been many instances in which Japanese have not observed the standard set by the Chinese. The explanation is not far to seek. In some cases contracts have not been understood. At present much care is exercised to see that all of the terms are clearly understood, and partly as a result of this, misunderstanding and charges of breach of contract have become very much less numerous than they were. Another factor entering into the explanation, however, is found in the rather weakly developed sense of contract. Because of the environment in which they have been reared, the Japanese are personal in their attitude. Though the contract sense is rapidly developing, it has not reached the level attained by most races. The tenant and the laborer are likely to feel that they should not be held to a bad bargain. If the wages of "regular hands" are lower than those paid to "temporary help," these regular hands are likely to feel aggrieved until they are paid as much as the others. Moreover, being ambitious and not feeling strongly the sanctity of contract obligations, some Japanese have left their contracts unfulfilled and taken employment elsewhere. If prices are low or the crop is poor, the tenant paying cash rent may feel that he should not bear the entire loss and demand that the landowner share it with him.[1] Frequently the difference in point of view and the high rents promised by Japanese in their eagerness to become farmers have raised an issue between landlord and tenant. Sometimes bosses have not made money when doing work under contract and have left wages and bills unpaid. Sometimes it was impossible to meet their obligations. In some localities several years ago it was necessary for the Japanese to coöperate to meet the evil of the absconding petty boss. Then, on the other hand, at Fresno and in some other places, there has been much violation of contracts in the failure to do harvest work at an agreed price. The boss, either because he must pay more for his help and will be involved in loss, or because the circumstances are such that he could get it, has not infrequently demanded a higher rate per ton for picking grapes or thinning or harvesting beets.

---

[1] It is said that it is customary to reduce the rent under such circumstances in Japan.

Fewer Breaches of Contract than Formerly. — It is evident that in a large percentage of these breaches of contract there are two sides to the case. But in farming communities there has been no cause so important in developing opposition to Japanese as instances of the kind noted. It is not to be inferred, however, that violations of contract are or have been general or that the Japanese generally are dishonest. Most have given no offense. Moreover, it is generally agreed by farmers and shippers that non-observance of contract obligations is much more exceptional now than ten or even five years ago.

The Fault of Ambition. — We take pride in the fact that we are an ambitious race, but if immigrants rise in such a way that our standards are adversely affected in an obvious way, the ambition and capacity which make it possible are accounted undesirable qualities. In the opinion of the laboring man the Chinese and the Japanese are equally undesirable if they underbid. The farmer, however, is likely to favor the one because contented, submissive, and almost oxlike as a farm laborer, and to criticize the other because he will not remain in one place, demands higher wages when the traffic will bear it, and wishes to get possession of the land and farm it on his own account. Business classes have never reacted strongly against Chinese who compete little with them, but many say that the Japanese are undesirable because they are ambitious and "go into business."

The Japanese accused of being "Cocky." — Another reason for the opposition is the very general feeling that those who begin in an inferior economic position should remain in it and that the Japanese are "cocky." The Japanese have pride in their race and are anxious to be regarded as equal to any other race. They are neither cringing nor servile. In dress and related matters they do not stint themselves. On the contrary, as some of their visiting countrymen have observed, they frequently spend over much on dress. When they appear in up-to-date suits and possibly patent leather shoes, they at once are said to be "cocky." Mr. Woehlke has emphasized this and phrased it brilliantly.[1]

Their Clannishness another Source of Opposition. — A factor of considerable importance in arousing opposition to the Japanese is found in the details of their immigration and their clannishness. It is true of course that every race of immigrants is more or less clannish because of language and other bonds. Within limits it is well that it is so, for in their close coöperation many hardships incidental to the adjustment that must be made are reduced. It is true, also, that the Orientals in the West have been made all the more clannish by the refusal of others to accord them a normal place in the population. Yet it is believed to be true that the Japanese are peculiar in the degree of clannishness which obtains among them. As some of the Japanese and more of their friends who have studied them carefully, have stated, they are in contrast to the Chinaman, the American, and the European in the weakness of the individualistic spirit. Without implying that it is an undesirable quality, it is true that the Japanese are clannish. But be this as it may and be the reasons of foreign or of American origin, the average person in a city or other industrial center has observed Japanese arriving in groups, going to the Japanese boarding house, and doing other things, in "mass." Whatever the reason, the Japanese have acted together and have not been individualistic in their life and activities. They have marked themselves as different from others.

---

[1] In *The Outlook*, May 10, 1913, pp. 61-65.

The Attitude of the Japanese Government an Important Cause of Opposition to its Subjects.— Not the least factor in begetting opposition to the Japanese is to be found in the attitude of the Japanese government towards its immigrants, and the solicitude of their semipublic organizations for the welfare of the members of their race on American soil. Without implying that it is objectionable or the contrary, it is true that the Japanese government has evinced an unusual interest in the whereabouts and activities of its subjects. The emigration companies developed out of it; emigrants have been treated, it would appear, almost as colonists. Certain obligations were laid upon the emigration companies to care for those emigrating through them, and, under certain circumstances, to provide for their return to the native land. Appeals to the government at home have been frequent and the response has been quickly made. The closeness of the relation between the government and its subjects and the solicitude of the one for the rights and welfare of the other have been important in explaining the situation which has developed in the West. Solicitude in Japan has begotten some of the hostility in America.

Likewise that of Japanese Organizations. — Moreover, organizations in this country have followed the same policy. The Japanese associations, the prefectural societies, and the business men's organizations have looked carefully to the welfare and the behavior of the immigrants. They have accomplished a great deal of good. At the same time the fact that information is collected by these organizations, and that through them things are accomplished in a concerted manner, have emphasized differences, begotten distrust, and instilled a certain amount of fear in Americans.

Agitation and Organized Opposition have Fanned the Flames. — These and other minor considerations have been seized upon by organized labor, the Asiatic Exclusion League, politicians and others, whose agitation has then been a very important factor in developing opposition and causing discriminatory action. Indeed, here we find the efficient cause of much that has happened and much of that which obtains. Yet, in continued agitation and extensive misrepresentation the cause of causes is not to be found. Without a fertile field, without other factors, agitation and misrepresentation could accomplish little. But with a fertile field and other factors making for opposition, agitation and organized opposition have fanned the flames, spread the fire, and made for active opposition.

Assimilation and Amalgamation. — This analysis would be incomplete were nothing said concerning the matter of assimilation. When those who hold that the Japanese are undesirable are questioned, emphasis will almost invariably be placed on the asserted unassimilability of the members of that race. Probably something will be added concerning the undesirable result of race mixture. In public discussions and private conferences more emphasis is placed upon these than upon all else. It may be said, however, that these are general social considerations which have not been so important in begetting the kind of opposition to the Japanese witnessed, as some of the other more intimate, "every day" facts noted above. Yet from a social point of view these questions are important. A separate chapter must be devoted to them.

CHAPTER X

THE PROBLEM OF ASSIMILATION

The Twofold Question of Assimilation and Amalgamation. — Can Japanese immigrants be assimilated? Does the question of assimilation involve race amalgamation?

Seven years ago the Asiatic Exclusion League of North America was organized. At its initial meeting in Seattle a constitution was adopted, the preamble to which read in part as follows: "The Caucasian and the Asiatic races are unassimilable. Contact between these races must result, under the conditions of industrial life obtaining in North America, in injury to the former, proportional to the extent to which such contact prevails. The preservation of the Caucasian race upon American soil, and particularly upon the west shore thereof, necessitates the adoption of all possible measures to prevent or minimize the immigration of Asiatics to America." The editor of the *Review of Reviews* agrees substantially with the initial statement quoted from the League's preamble. In commenting upon California's alien land law he has written: "The Japanese are intensely distinct and self-conscious as a race and nation. Those who come here, come as Japanese. They have no thought of becoming Americans. . . .

The two civilizations will not readily assimilate when brought into close contact."[1]

Generally held that Japanese cannot be Assimilated. Intermarriage Objected to. — In this negative answer to the question as to whether the Japanese can be assimilated nearly all persons conferred with are in agreement. The exceptions, who strongly assert the contrary, are comparatively few. Among those who maintain that the Japanese are not assimilable and that their immigration involves a race problem are many of their friends and most of those who advocate a limited immigration to serve economic ends. A few of them are close students of the race — one a former consul and another a newspaper man, both of them regarded as pro-Japanese. And, further, the feeling is widespread in California that any intermarriage between white and Japanese would be, in the language of Mr. Newman, "The beginning of the mightiest problem that ever faced the American people." Inevitably this question of race amalgamation will be introduced into any discussion of that of assimilation.

The Writer's Conclusions relative to Assimilation and Race Amalgamation. — The answers to the twofold question thus raised are opinions, hence the writer may be pardoned for presenting his own. His conclusions are these:

(1) That the Japanese have many personal qualities which make for rapid assimilation;

(2) That in their assimilation much progress has been made;

---

[1] *Review of Reviews*, June, 1913.

(3) That whether they could be completely assimilated under favorable conditions only time would tell;

(4) That assimilation depends upon numbers and circumstances as well as upon personal characteristics;

(5) That even with limited numbers the situation is such that assimilation is unlikely to occur in the desired degree;

(6) That with large numbers it would not take place;

(7) That the evil of race mixture is pretty much of a "bogie."

The object of this chapter is to record briefly the reasons for these opinions. No effort will be made, however, to support these conclusions seriatim.

Great Dissimilarity to be overcome, but the Japanese Sensitive to their Environment. — Assimilation involves bringing out of unlikeness coöperation and a sufficient degree of likeness so that there will be substantial agreement in standards and reactions to stimuli. Though in many respects the American and the Japanese races are alike, centuries spent in different environments have produced deep-seated dissimilarity. The assimilation of the Japanese involves less change than does that of the Chinese or the East Indians, but more than does that of most, if not all, of the European races represented upon American soil. But it is true that while a very different environment has caused substantial unlikeness, perhaps no nation "has turned to environment so sensitive a front as the Japanese. Its history of twenty-five centuries is a record of unceasing adoption and assimilation"[1] of things brought within its grasp.

They have taken Much from other Nations. — The Chinese language and culture early left their imprint. More recently Occidental industrial arts, forms of government, and educational systems have been studied, accepted, adapted, and made use of. The Christian religion has taken firm root there. The Japanese have not been steeled against change. Their rapidly changing civilization and recent phenomenal progress bear witness to this.

Japanese quickly conform to Certain Standards of the Adopted Country. — Most of the Japanese who have emigrated have done so for the sake of economic gain, and with the intention of returning later to Japan. Like other comparatively new immigrants, only a minority have ceased to look back to their native land. Yet they have come with the desire to learn and to make progress, and have been sensitive to their new environment. Literate, intelligent, studious, imitative, desiring to be recognized as equals and feeling offended when treated as a dissimilar and inferior race, they have quickly conformed to many of the requirements and customs of the adopted country.

Dress. — Except occasionally about the "camp" in the evening, the writer has not seen the native Japanese dress in the continental United States. The Japanese dress well and in American clothes.

---

[1] Quoted from Kawakami, *Asia at the Door*, p. 62.

They are sensitive and wish to conform to the standards set by others in such obvious matters as dress.

Furnishings. — The raised platform serving as a "bunk" is extensively used where Japanese men are employed and provided with shelter in groups. But in by far the largest number of the "bunk houses" observed, the improvised beds are like those used by other men in "camp," and the Japanese families invariably use the usual American bed. The same is true of nearly all of their furnishings, unless it be the "open fire" for cooking, which the average Japanese housewife is loath to discard for the American stove. Chop sticks continue in very general use, but in every one of the houses investigated the past summer, knives, forks, and spoons were found, and rather frequently they were more or less regularly used by the members of the Japanese households.

Diet. — Twenty years have witnessed a considerable change in the diet of the Japanese in the United States. While rice and fish still occupy a prominent place in the food eaten, the consumption of meat, breakfast foods, and other non-Japanese dishes has rapidly increased. Taking the families of Japanese and Italian farmers, the diet of the one is no more characteristic of the race than that of the other. Neither is their diet without desirable variety, nor less expensive than that of other immigrant races in similar economic positions.

Their Standard of Housing notably Inferior. — The one point in which the Japanese standard of living is notably inferior is in housing. This has been commented on in various parts of this report. While there is a distinct improvement where they own land and build their own houses, they are usually less good and less commodious than those built by white persons of equal means. The great majority of them, however, are living in rented houses or in shelters provided by their employers. In either case they have only a limited control over the character of the place in which they reside. The employers expect the Japanese to occupy the Chinese "bunk house" or a similar structure, while in the cities, they are usually practically segregated and assigned to an older locality in which the buildings have deteriorated. Moreover, landlords, influenced no doubt by their experience with the Chinese, are slow to make desired repairs. Yet this situation is not entirely the fault of the white employer or landlord. The Japanese have been willing to observe a lower standard in the matter of housing than the American or the average European, though not lower than that of the Greek, the South Italian, and some of the less desirable races of immigrants from South and East Europe, and he demands distinctly better accommodations than the Mexicans.

Standards of Work, Hours, Wages, Rent, and Profits. — A much more important detail in which American standards have not been readily adopted involves important economic considerations. In different parts of this report the work of the Japanese women has been commented upon. Frequently, and in the rural communities especially, they have neglected household duties for work in shop or field. In this respect the Japanese continue to set themselves off from all other important elements in the population except the German-Russians, who are found in large numbers in Colorado and about Fresno, California. With both the German-Russian and the Japanese farmers it is still a "workaday" life in "making" the rent or paying for the land they have purchased. The hours worked by Japanese farmers are long, and their work frequently continues the seven days of the week. This is truer of those in California than elsewhere, however, and in that state agricultural work is frequently engaged in on Sunday by others. It has been suggested that the length of the workday should be controlled by law. This suggestion, however, is not well taken, for while Sunday labor may be prohibited, how long one may work on his own account may not be restricted by law. Nor, as yet, have the courts permitted the regulation of the hours of labor of adult male employees except in dangerous occupations, such as underground work in the operation of mines. Moreover, as has been set forth, the standards set by other races as regards profit and the rents paid for land have not been generally accepted by Asiatics in the West. The reasons for the different standards frequently observed by them have been presented earlier in this report and need not be repeated here.

Learning to speak English. — In spite of the great obstacles, the Japanese in the United States have made rapid progress in learning the English language — an indispensable condition to Americanization. According to the Census of 1910, 45.8 per cent of the female and 62.4 per cent of the male Japanese ten years of age and over in the United States were able to speak our language. The corresponding percentages for the Chinese were 49.6, and 58.8; for foreign-born whites whose mother tongue was other than English, 77.4, and 77.0. In using these figures it must be borne in mind that in length of residence in this country, the Chinese had had a distinct advantage over the Japanese. So had the foreign-born whites taken as a whole. Moreover, many of the Europeans had immigrated as children, while few of the Japanese had done so.

The Japanese and Others of Non-English Mother Tongue. — The Immigration Commission applied the test of length of residence in making its comparisons between the Japanese and other immigrant races whose mother tongue was other than English. After proper allowance is made for previous residence of Japanese in Hawaii or Canada, and for the study of English grammar in their native high schools, the comparisons are found to be favorable to the Japanese as against many of the races embraced within the so-called "newer immigration." Among the details are these:[1]

"The contrast between the Japanese and the Chinese employed in agricultural pursuits is striking. Although 94.9 per cent of the Chinese from whom data were obtained have been in the United States 10 years or over, and the great majority 20 years or over, a smaller percentage of them than of the Japanese speak English, although 90.4 per cent of the latter have been here less than 10 years and 56.5 per cent less than 5 years. Indeed, of the Japanese who have resided in the United States less than 5 years, 58.8 per cent speak English, as opposed to 66.9 per cent of the Chinese who have been here 10 years or over. This wide difference between the two races is not due to differences in their environments, for the conditions under which Chinese farm laborers live and work are substantially the same as those which surround the Japanese, but it is the result chiefly of the different attitude of the two races toward American customs and our language. The Chinese are self-satisfied and indifferent in this regard, whereas the Japanese are eager to learn the English language or anything pertaining to Western civilization. The same contrast between these races with regard to progress in learning to speak English is found in the other industries where Japanese and Chinese are employed in similar branches of work."

---

[1] Immigration Commission, Reports, Vol. 23, pp. 148–149.

With reference to Japanese and Mexicans we read:

"Of those employed on street railways, for example, 58.8 per cent of the 102 Japanese speak English, as against only 17.4 per cent of the 539 Mexicans, and this in spite of the fact that 70.6 per cent of the former as against 57.9 per cent of the latter have been in this country less than five years.

Indeed, only 41.9 per cent of the 81 Mexicans whose period of residence is ten years or over speak English, while 50 per cent of the 72 Japanese who have been here less than five years have acquired our tongue.

"A comparison of the Japanese employed in the mining of coal with other races most commonly used in similar occupations in that industry shows that their progress in learning to speak English has been relatively rapid. Of the 199 Japanese who have been in the United States less than five years, 44.7 per cent speak English, as opposed to 38.8 per cent of the 129 Poles, 38.7 per cent of the 562 North Italians, 36.7 per cent of the 229 Slovenians, 31.8 per cent of the 44 Slovaks, and 28.7 per cent of the 216 South Italians. On the other hand, however, 48.7 per cent of the 152 Croatians, 51.8 per cent of the 170 Montenegrins, and 62.3 per cent of the 61 Finns in this residence group speak English. It should be noted, moreover, that with the exception of the South Italians, the Europeans whose period of residence was more than five years show more progress in this regard than the Japanese, indicating either that the percentage for Japanese who have been here a relatively short time is greatly affected by residence in Hawaii or Canada, or that they continue longer than the Europeans under conditions which retard assimilation."

The effect of unfavorable conditions in retarding the assimilation of the Japanese will be discussed presently. In connection with the matter in hand, however, it may be said that clannishness, isolated life, and difficulty encountered due to linguistic differences have prevented the Japanese who speak English from speaking it as well as the Italian or other European who has been in this country the same length of time. This difference impressed itself upon the writer during his investigations made during the past summer.

The Reading and Writing of English. — A considerable number of the Japanese investigated by the Immigration Commission had learned to read and write English. Of the male wage earners the percentage was 30.5, of the business men and farmers, 48.6. The corresponding percentages for the females in these two groups were 8.7 and 13.3. The Commission in this matter again made interesting comparisons between the Japanese and other immigrants.[1]

"A comparison of the Japanese and Chinese males engaged in agriculture shows that 19.8 per cent of the former as opposed to only 1.6 per cent of the latter read and write English. Comparing the data gathered from immigrants employed in the mining of coal, a larger percentage of the Japanese read and write English than of most of the races from South and East Europe. Indeed, while 47.2 per cent of the 447 Japanese employed in this industry read and write English, only 34.2 per cent of the 225 Finns, 22.3 per cent of the 479 Slovenians, 20.7 per cent of the 214 Slovaks, 19.3 per cent of the 419 Croatians, 18.8 per cent of the 245 Poles, 17.6 per cent of the 193 Montenegrins, 14 per cent of the 1175 North Italians, and 9.9

---

[1] Immigration Commission, Reports, Vol. 23, p. 155.

per cent of the 485 South Italians have acquired these arts. These comparisons, however, should be somewhat modified because of the fact that many of the Japanese have resided in the Hawaiian Islands and Canada, prior to their immigration to the continental United States, and, further, that some of them have studied English in Japanese schools. With due allowance for these factors in their progress, the proportion of Japanese who read and write English is unusually high as compared to most of the immigrant races employed in similar kinds of work."

With the passing of time, of course, the percentage of Japanese who speak, or read and write English is much larger than indicated by the census of four years ago or by the Immigration Commission five years ago. We are interested here, however, only in the rapidity with which the Japanese gain command of our language.

Japanese Schools for instructing Adults in English. — The showing thus made by the Japanese is good. It represents much definite educational activity on the part of this studious and intelligent race. Reference has already been made to the schools conducted by the Japanese in different western cities. To quote again from the Immigration Commission:

"No less than 33, the primary aim of which is to instruct adult Japanese in the English language, were reported by agents of the Commission in Los Angeles, San Francisco, Oakland, and Sacramento, California, and Seattle and Tacoma, Washington.

Of these, several were designed primarily for the 'student class,' and embraced all subjects preparatory for high school, and in one or two cases for college work. The great majority, however, were conducted by the various religious missions and by private parties with the primary aim of imparting a knowledge of English to Japanese laborers."[1]

Magazines and Papers read by Japanese. — One of the most important factors assisting or retarding assimilation is found in newspapers and magazines read. Those subscribed for indicate, also, the extent to which immigrants have been assimilated and their standard of living. The Immigration Commission in its investigations obtained data with reference to these from the households investigated. The data for the Japanese are presented in the following table:

HOUSEHOLDS	NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLDS	NUMBER TAKING			
		No newspaper	Only newspapers printed in Japanese	Only newspapers printed in English	Newspapers; some printed in Japanese, some in English
City households	332	8	193	4	127
Farm households	490	136	322	0	32

Thus 322 of the 490 farm households, and 193 of the 332 city households had only papers printed in the Japanese language. Some of these were published in Japan, but most of them in the cities of the Pacific States. They present Japanese and American news from the Japanese point of view. On the other hand, 32 of the farm and 131 of the city households had papers published in English. The schedules used showed that the *Literary Digest*, the *Independent*, the *Outlook*, the *Review of Reviews*, the *Pacific Monthly*, and *Collier's Weekly* were among the magazines taken.

---

[1] Quoted from Immigration Commission, Reports, Vol. 23, p. 152.

After presenting the above data, the Commission made this summary statement of value for the purpose in hand:

> "Without entering upon detailed comparisons, it is found that the number of Japanese subscribing for no newspaper is much smaller than that of the Italians and Portuguese. Moreover, the number of publications taken is very much larger. In all of these respects the Japanese compare favorably with the households of North European immigrants. It is true, however, that a far larger percentage of the publications subscribed for are printed in their native language in the case of the Japanese than in the case of city and farm households of most of the other races investigated. This fact is of importance for it shows at once the interests and an important source of information of the majority of the Japanese immigrants." [1]

The Japanese Children. — Thus far the discussion has related to adult Japanese. At present, however, there are several thousand children, foreign or native born, in the Western states.

---

[1] Immigration Commission, Reports, Vol. 23, p. 159.

Observation and investigation show that they are receiving the benefits of good schooling and with results not different from those in the case of children of other races. They attend school regularly, are studious, comparatively few except those who immigrate from Japan are retarded in their studies, and they are generally well received by the other pupils. There is no reason to believe that as they grow up, they will be different from others except in color and physique inherited, and social rank and attitude as affected by the work, rank, and attitude of the adults of the Japanese race. In the near future they will no doubt be a most potent factor in the assimilation of the foreign-born adults.

Supplementary Schools. — In this connection the Japanese supplementary school found in most Japanese communities must be noted. The Japanese boarding schools are too few to be of any importance. The place occupied by the supplementary school has been accurately set forth by Mr. Kawakami in his *Asia at the Door*.[1] As he points out, these schools are attended by the Japanese pupils after the public schools close for the day. They are for the study of the Japanese language, literature, geography, and history. Though the indirect effect may be to retard assimilation somewhat, and though "in rare instances Japanese teachers are inclined to inspire in the hearts of their youthful pupils such sentiments and creeds as would hinder their assimilation with American ideas and traditions,"[2] these schools are not intended to perpetuate the traditions and moral concepts of Japan. They are supplementary schools, and at the worst, there is much less in them to be adversely criticized than in the parochial schools attended by so many children of South and East European immigrants. No real problem is yet evident connected with Japanese children on American soil. The place they will occupy as adults, however, remains to be seen. It will depend to a considerable extent upon the place occupied by the older immigrants.

---

[1] Pp. 80 *et seq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 82.

Many Facts indicate Much Capacity for Assimilation and Considerable Progress. But what of Certain Fundamentals? — But are not some of the things thus far considered superficial and of little consequence? No doubt some of them are. Yet, taken together they are significant. They indicate much capacity on the part of the Japanese for assimilation. They indicate, moreover, that while much remains to be done, considerable progress has been made in the adoption of American forms, customs, and language. Yet the central ideas in the thought of those who maintain that the Japanese cannot be Americanized appear to be that their color imposes an impassable bar between the races, that their religious conceptions cannot be overturned, their clannishness broken down, and their extreme loyalty to Japan transferred to another government.

The Christian Religion. — The Christian religion has taken firm root in Japan and a considerable percentage of the immigrants have become converts before leaving their native land. To these others have been added as a result of the work of the Christian missions in different settlements in the Western states so that about four or five per cent of the entire number are members of the different Christian denominations. In California, for example, there were last year 48 Japanese mission churches with a combined membership of 2430. The number of converts during the year was 447.[1] These churches have become federated under the Japanese Interdenominational Board of Missions, organized in 1911. Coöperating as they do, conducting no fewer than twelve schools for the teaching of English and seven kindergartens, and sending evangelists to every part of the state where there are more than a few Japanese, not only to preach the gospel but to assist in anything making for right living and right relations, these Christian missions are an important factor in assimilation. In the other states the same kind of work is being carried on but in a less organized way. Christianity is making progress among the Japanese. It is important that it should, for while the places of worship are for Japanese only and comparatively few of the race attend churches attended by others, so that the races are not brought into close contact, it does establish a bond between them. Moreover, the acceptance of Christianity seems to loosen the bond between the Japanese and his fatherland.

Buddhism. — But, on the other hand, it is to be pointed out that the number of Buddhists is larger than the number of Christians, and that their temples have rapidly increased in number. Several schools for the teaching of English and a number of dormitories are conducted by the Buddhist organizations, and they no doubt accomplish a considerable amount of good. Yet there seems to be a widespread feeling among the Japanese that much of their activity runs counter to assimilation. My limited observations lead me to regard Mr. Kawakami's remarks concerning this as entirely fair. He says:

---

[1] From annual report of the Deno-Dan in the Shin Tenchi Supplement, February 14, 1914.

> "If the purpose of the Buddhists were to propagate the teachings of Buddha, pure and simple, the American people, I am sure, would have little to complain of. Much to our regret, we find some of the Buddhist priests are inclined to link Buddhism with patriotism to Japan, knowing that this method of propaganda appeals to the ignorant masses. I do not see why the Japanese Buddhists could not be broad-minded enough, and clear-sighted enough, to see the folly of such a policy. Out of my sincere respect for their character and ideals, I prefer to believe that the Buddhist leaders themselves are absolutely innocent and positively disapprove such unscrupulous means as have been resorted to by their followers. It is also regrettable that the Buddhists keep aloof from the Christians and apparently have no desire to coöperate with them."[1]

Non-Christian Institutions retard Americanization. — Thus, while in the matter of religion we find in the Japanese the possibility of change, and while the institutions among them are doing much to further assimilation, the net influence of the non-Christian institutions is to retard Americanization. This is unfortunate, of course. It may be pointed out, however, that some of the religious organizations among the non-English speaking European immigrants likewise do much to retard and to prevent assimilation. Any difference is only one of degree.

---

[1] Kawakami, *Asia at the Door*, p. 233.

Japanese Clannishness. — It cannot be disputed that the Japanese are clannish. While it may be said that this is true of other immigrant races, also, there are differences in degree. It appears to be true that no important group of Europeans in the population, unless it is the Poles, is as clannish as the Japanese. It is true, of course, that this clannishness is characteristic of any element when new in the population. It is true, also, that in the case of Asiatics it has been increased by the attitude of the white races. Yet these facts do not explain all that obtains. Individualism has nowhere in the case of the Japanese been characteristic. A former consul to Japan and an admirer of the race interprets much in its history and activity from the point of view of the clan. Their intense patriotism, he maintains, is merely the "larger clan idea." In his opinion they could never become loyal to any other as against their own country. But this is squarely denied by others equally well informed, and most of those who are in close association with the Japanese in the United States say that they would quickly avail themselves of the right of citizenship if they were permitted to become naturalized. Mr. Kawakami, an excellent student of race problems, maintains that their patriotism may be transferred to another country without diminution; while Dr. Gulick maintains that the Japanese would become as loyal citizens as any if accorded proper treatment in the United States. Unfortunately it is all a matter of conjecture; nowhere has there been experience to establish definitely either position. It remains true, however, that the relation between the Japanese government and its subjects on foreign soil is a peculiarly intimate one. In no other instance is it so close. It is true, also, that some of the representatives of the government have counseled the Japanese to be true to the fatherland, but, if permanently settled here, to become citizens if possible, and stated that such a change of allegiance would argue only a higher patriotism and not evidence a loss of patriotism or entail injury to one's national individuality.[1] The pro-Japanese see in this a willingness on the part of the Japanese government to have its subjects identify themselves with another country. The anti-Japanese see in it evidence on the part of the Japanese to remain loyal to Japan, for, they ask, why should the Japanese be advised with reference to their duty in such a matter?

Complete Assimilability of the Japanese must remain a Disputed Question. **Will the West give**

---

[1] Written with special reference to an address by the Honorable Ebara, delivered in Honolulu, June, 1913. His address is more or less typical of numerous other speeches made to Japanese residents of the United States.

Necessary Coöperation? — Thus the question as to whether the members of this race could, under favorable circumstances, be Americanized in all respects must remain a disputed one. But it cannot be disputed that assimilation of any race depends upon the attitude of the race to which it is to be assimilated and that a situation has developed in the West such as to render the assimilation of the masses of the Japanese well-nigh if not quite impossible until it changes in important respects. The question whether the people of the West will assimilate the Japanese is really more important than whether the Japanese can be assimilated.

Little Effort being made to remove Causes of Friction. — In the preceding chapters the widespread opposition to the Japanese has been noted and an attempt has been made to explain it. Barriers have been erected that few can succeed in surmounting. That "The Japanese, like the Chinese, are regarded as differing so greatly from the white races that they have lived in, but as no integral part of, the community" and that "a strong public opinion has segregated them, if not in their work, in the other details of their living,"[1] is almost literally true in California and only less so in the other Western states. The causes of friction have been numerous and except on the part of the Japanese organizations, there has been little effort to remove the causes and to bring about coöperation. The Christian missions have accomplished something. So has the Y. M. C. A. in some cities. The Japan Society of America is conducting an educational campaign to develop an appreciation of Japanese character and institutions, and to prevent the spread of misinformation and to offset the effects of agitation. A similar organization in Los Angeles is working less methodically to accomplish the same ends and here and there individuals are making an earnest effort to meet problems as they arise. But the effort being put forth is small compared with that required to remove causes that are removable and to develop the degree of coöperation required to solve a problem which will not be solved otherwise. And, with much greater effort, it would remain to be seen whether differences in color, standards, and possibly other things not so obvious, would not still tend so strongly to encyst the Japanese as a foreign element in the population, that it would not be overcome in the desirable degree.

---

[1] Immigration Commission, Reports, Vol. 23, p. 166.

Without a Restricted Immigration Assimilation would not take Place. — One thing germane to the question under discussion cannot be a matter of dispute. Without a narrowly restricted immigration and with a considerable influx of Japanese laborers, the desired degree of assimilation would not take place. However great the capacity of the immigrants for Americanization, the competition which would develop, combined with the present elements in the situation, would prevent it.

The Question of Race Amalgamation. — As already stated, the matter of race amalgamation is almost sure to be introduced when the assimilation of the Japanese is under discussion. And naturally so, for intermarriage between the races follows upon fairly complete assimilation, and the unions thus formed, if the attendant circumstances are satisfactory, become a factor in assimilating others.

Intense Opposition to Intermarriage in California. — In the West the marriage of Japanese and Caucasian is frowned upon. This results naturally from the American antipathy for a colored race and the widespread opposition to the Asiatics. In California an effort has been made to prevent it by law. Following upon an earlier amendment of the Civil Code to prevent miscegenation, in 1905 the Code was again amended so as to make the marriage of white persons with Mongolians, as well as with negroes and mulattoes, illegal and void. Japanese are regarded as Mongolians. In fact the amendment of the law in 1905 was meant to relate especially to marriage between them and white persons. In California the feeling against any intermarriage has been used effectively in the agitation carried on. Thus when hearings were held in the spring of 1913 on the alien land bills at Sacramento, the remarks of Mr. Newman bearing upon this matter had more effect than anything else said. In the course of his remarks he said:

"Near my home is an eighty-acre tract of as fine land as there is in California. On that land lives a Japanese. With that Japanese lives a white woman. In that woman's arms is a baby. What is that baby? It isn't a Japanese. It isn't white. I'll tell you what it is. It is the germ of the mightiest problem that ever faced this state; a problem that will make the black problem of the South look white."[1]

In Writer's Opinion the Question of Little Importance. — In spite of the strong feeling against intermarriage of white and Japanese, the writer is of the opinion that the question is of very little importance. Intermarriage is not essential to assimilation. Possibly it is not true, as Dr. Eliot maintains, that the Japanese tend strongly to retain the purity of their race. In fact, the writer is of the opinion that the Japanese have less of race antipathy than is exhibited by other races, and that Mr. Soyeda is right when after referring to cases of intermarriage between the Japanese and the Americans, he says "there would be many more if it were not for the artificial and unjust restrictions placed by law and usage."[2] Some Japanese acquaintances have shown pride when commenting on instances of intermarriage in the West. Yet it is safe to say that only in the event that assimilation is fairly complete and the relations between the races considerably modified, will many intermarriages take place. Those which might then take place should present no particular problem. There are now about fifty instances in the

[1] Quoted widely in the press and in Hichborn's *Story of the California Legislature of 1913*, p. 230. It has been used in numerous magazine articles.

[2] Soyeda and Kamiya, *A Survey of the Japanese Question in California*, p. 9.

West where Japanese men have married American women, and, with few exceptions, the couples have lived happily. There are now several offspring, and in so far as the writer has had the opportunity to observe them, they are not deficient in any respect. In physical appearance an American is likely to regard them as decidedly Japanese. The Japanese, on the contrary, are likely to regard them as decidedly Caucasian. It is natural that each should see the variation from his own type. In non-biological respects they are American, for what they are until they grow up depends chiefly upon the mother. Of course, were the mother Japanese and the father American, the result would be different, but that is a combination that would seldom occur because of the great deficiency of immigrant females. So far as experience shows there is nothing inherently bad in race mixture, if it takes place under normal conditions, and neither race is generally regarded as inferior and the offspring therefore given inferior rank, as in the case of the negro. But if the races are not given approximately equal rank and harmonious relations established, Japanese-American marriages must continue to be of infrequent occurrence and the number of offspring few.

CHAPTER XI

SOME SUGGESTIONS CONSIDERED

THIS report may be concluded with a brief consideration of certain suggestions as to the policy which should be followed in dealing with the "Japanese Problem."

Two Questions raised by the "Japanese Problem," One relating to the Admission of Immigrants, the Other to the Treatment accorded those Admitted. — The "Japanese Problem," like the problem connected with all other immigration, raises two questions. The first of these relates to the admission of immigrants, the other to the treatment accorded those who secure admission lawfully. The second of these raises many points which might be profitably discussed. Only one of them, however, — the question of naturalization, — can receive more than passing reference in this report. This final chapter, then, will be devoted especially to the questions of the admission and naturalization of Japanese.

Conclusions of the Immigration Commission as to Asiatic Immigration. — The Immigration Commission gave extended consideration to the problem of Asiatic immigration and arrived at definite conclusions as to the policy which should be followed in admitting eastern Asiatics to this country.

Becoming convinced that any considerable immigration of Asiatic *laborers* was undesirable, the Commission made the following recommendations:

"The general policy adopted by Congress in 1882 of excluding Chinese laborers should be continued.

"The question of Japanese and Korean immigration should be permitted to stand without further legislation so long as the present method of restriction (through the agreement relating to passports) proves to be effective.

"An understanding should be reached with the British government whereby East Indian laborers would be effectively prevented from entering the United States."[1]

Though the Agreement is Effective, the Question of Japanese Immigration always under Discussion. — The administration of the Chinese exclusion law has been attended by great difficulties, but any suggestion that the general policy it represents should be departed from has received no serious consideration. The problem presented by the immigration of East Indians has been met for several years by a doubtful interpretation and drastic administration of the section of the general immigration law relating to persons likely to become public charges. The difficulties and uncertainty connected with this method of practical exclusion have caused various special measures designed to exclude East Indian laborers to receive favorable consideration from those connected with the immigration service. Indeed, these officials have urged that some exclusion bill should be adopted.[1] The agreement with the Japanese government with reference to Japanese immigration, on the other hand, has proved to be effective. As stated in the first chapter of this report, as a restrictive measure, it has been far more successful than the Chinese exclusion act. Its effectiveness was more than once commented upon by ex-Commissioner Keefe, and has been conceded by the present Commissioner General of Immigration.[2] Yet the subject of Japanese immigration has been under constant discussion and many have urged that the agreement should be superseded by legislation. Some have sought to secure an extension of the Chinese exclusion law so as to apply to all Asiatic immigrants. On the other hand, some have advocated some method that would place Japanese immigrants upon the plane of those from other nations of the first class.

---

[1] Immigration Commission, Report, Vol. 1, p. 47.

Exclusion Bills in Congress. — For nine years Congress has had bills before it providing for the exclusion of all Asiatic laborers. The one most seriously considered at the recent session of Congress was the "Raker bill" (House Bill 102).

---

[1] See, for example, the testimony given at the Hearings on Hindu Immigration before the Committee on Immigration, House of Representatives, Sixty-third Congress, second session (February and April, 1914).

[2] At the Hearings on Hindu Immigration, April 16, 1914, in answer to a question by Congressman Gardner as to whether the agreement was working in a manner "substantially satisfactory," Commissioner Caminetti answered, "I think so." (Hearings, Part 4, p. 137.)

An effort to amend the Burnett bill, enacted by the House at its last session and now awaiting action by the Senate, so as to exclude all Asiatic laborers regardless of existing agreements, was defeated.[1] The defeat is explained by the preference of some for the present effective agreement with Japan, by the fear of others of giving affront to the Japanese government, and by the opinion of still others that exclusion should be effected by the enactment of the Raker bill as a separate measure.[2] In the course of the discussion it was stated that all of the members of the Committee on Immigration were opposed to the immigration of Japanese as well as of other Asiatic laborers. The Raker bill was not reported, however. It has been asserted that it was not reported because of the attitude of the Japanese government.

A Majority of the People of the West favor Exclusion. Exclusionists not all Laborers. — My investigations show that the great majority in the West strongly favor the exclusion of Asiatic laborers. The people of the West, in general, are opposed to Asiatic immigration, and those of Washington, and especially those of California, states to which most would go upon their arrival, very decidedly so. Lest there should be any doubt as to their position, any exclusion bill, such as the Raker bill, would likely be approved by a very large majority if referred to the electors. This is not to say, however, that a majority favor the enactment of such a measure at the present time, though it is probable that a majority do. Of course there are a comparatively few who believe in non-restriction. A few also believe in a limited immigration to serve industrial ends. A very large number, possibly a majority, believe in retaining the agreement so long as it is effective. A considerable number — a large percentage of those who know of it — favor Dr. Gulick's plan.[1] It is probable, however, that a majority believe in enacting some such measure as the Raker bill. Most of them are laboring under the misapprehension that the agreement is not accomplishing practical exclusion. They say that Japanese in undesirable number and of classes supposed to be excluded are coming in. This impression is fixed in their minds. They believe the false reports that have been made or have concluded that the increase in numbers in their own communities has been accompanied by corresponding increases elsewhere. Some, in fact, a very considerable number, assert that the matter of immigration should not be subject to treaty or agreement; that the right to control immigration is a sovereign right and that this right should be exercised, not compromised. A few express the opinion that it is only a question of time until the policy pursued by the Japanese government in granting of passports will break down because of the opposition with which it is meeting and that the question should be settled once for all by exclusion legislation. But while there is a great division of opinion with reference to measures, those who believe in greater restriction of Japanese immigration than would be effected under the existing general immigration law constitute an overwhelming majority. Nor is this majority made up of labor unionists or laborers only. The majority of business men, publicists, professional men, and others are opposed to the admission of any considerable number of Japanese laborers.

---

[1] The Burnett bill mentioned in section 3, relating to excluded classes, "persons who cannot become eligible under existing law to become citizens of the United States by naturalization, unless otherwise provided for by existing agreement as to passports, or by treaties, conventions, or agreements that may hereafter be entered into." Congressman Hayes sought to amend by striking out the part beginning with "unless," but the amendment was defeated by a vote of 79 for to 101 against.

[2] This measure would add to the classes excluded by section 2 of the existing immigration law all Asiatic laborers, and provide for the registration of all Asiatics now here or hereafter admitted.

---

[1] Discussed below.

The Japanese Government asserts its Willingness to continue the Present Effective Control of Immigration. — The Japanese government is observing the letter and spirit of the agreement and does not for the present, at any rate, ask for a change in it. In the correspondence with reference to the California alien land law, Baron Makino, His Imperial Majesty's Minister of Foreign Affairs, under date of August 23, 1913, sent to Viscount Chinda a telegram to be handed to Secretary Bryan, reading in part as follows:

"The Secretary of State, it is observed, dwells at length upon the subject of labor immigration into the United States, and, in the same relation, he refers to the action of Japan in circumstances somewhat analogous to those existing in America.

The reason or necessity for this exposition is not understood by the Imperial Government. The question of immigration has nothing whatever to do with the present controversy, and any reference to it only tends to obscure the real issue. This announcement I wish to make very categorical. More than four years ago, the Imperial Government willingly coöperated with the American Government in adopting suitable measures in regulation of labor movements from Japan to the United States. The steps thus taken were entirely efficacious, so that, during the past three years, considerably more Japanese laborers left the United States than have entered that country. The Government of the United States has recognized and frankly admitted the sufficiency of the measure enforced by the Imperial Government in the matter. The Japanese Ambassador to the United States, at the time of the conclusion of the Treaty of 1911, declared under the authority of his Government that the Imperial Government were fully prepared to maintain with equal effectiveness, the limitation and control which were then exerted in regulation of the emigration of laborers to the United States. Accordingly, in order to correct and finally dispel the popular error, *I wish to say that there is no question whatever between Japan and the United States on the subject of the Japanese labor immigration into the United States*. The present controversy relates exclusively to the question of the treatment of the Japanese subjects, who are lawfully in the United States, or may hereafter lawfully become resident therein consistently with the existing regulation. So far as such subjects are concerned, the Imperial Government claim for them fair and equal treatment, and are unable either to acquiesce in the unjust and obnoxious discrimination complained of, or to regard the question as closed so long as the existing state of things is permitted to continue."[1]

Yet the Agreement is objected to by Many in Japan, and there is a Feeling that they should be treated as a First-class Nation. — The agreement of 1907 was initiated by the Japanese government and was adopted to meet the emergency raised by the San Francisco "school order" and other hostile measures and acts. The Japanese government now states emphatically its entire willingness to abide by its terms. Yet it may be that the question cannot be regarded as finally settled in Japan. When the agreement was adopted it was accepted by the people as necessary, but many of them hoped it would not long obtain. It would appear that they have grown more restive under it (partly because of agitation for discriminatory legislation in this country, partly because of the habit of misguided or mistaken friends in laying everything at the door of corrupt trade union leaders), and with the development of popular government, it may be that the policy would sooner or later have to be changed. The

---

[1] This statement was shaped more or less by a statement in Secretary Bryan's communication of July 16, 1913, in which he commented on the Imperial Ordinance No. 352 of 1899 which placed restrictions on immigrant laborers to Japan and which was used in 1907 to exclude two groups of Chinese, one of coolie laborers, the other of skilled artisans, on the ground that they worked for lower wages than the natives.

Japanese feel humiliated by the position in which the agreement places them. They are extremely self-conscious in their international relations, and there is a widespread demand that in the matter of immigration they should be treated as a first-class nation. Of many recent statements which might be quoted from the writings of prominent Japanese, the following are typical:

"In Japan the nation took the agreement as unsatisfactory but unavoidable for the time being and has ever since looked for better days when not only her 'face' would be saved but when her people would be admitted into this republic (the United States) as equal human beings." "The restriction should be placed equally and fairly on all, without any discrimination of race or nationality. It is the unfair discrimination that is most resented by the Japanese nation." "It must also be remembered that unlimited national resources and a boundless tract of land in the United States afford ample room for a great number of people, and it is better for her and for the general interest of humanity that her resources be opened and utilized."[1]

Radical Statements as to our Need of Cheap Immigrant Labor. — Even more radical statements have been made in literature widely distributed in the West in behalf of the Japanese. In *Japan's Message to America*, Baron Kondo, after stating that few white persons migrate to the West and that labor is needed to exploit its resources, writes in the course of his contribution:

---

[1] Quotations from *A Survey of the Japanese Question in California*, by J. Soyeda and T. Kamiya, pp. 3, 7, and 9.

> "The best class of immigrants are those whose labor is cheap. If only labor be cheap there is no need of making the point of race distinctions. Now the cheapest laborers are the Japanese. As railway laborers the Japanese are being welcomed by the railway companies. But, because Japanese labor is cheap, some of the idle white laborers feel annoyed and attempt to have them excluded. This is not only unreasonable, but it is also unprofitable for the Americans. . . . If they are honest at heart and work earnestly, the question of their assimilation should be set aside. . . . I earnestly hope . . . they will admit cheap labor to that country, thereby facilitating the opening up of the land and increasing the blessings of nature to both nations."[1]

The United States does not favor Cheap Labor. — It is safe to say that any such hope as that expressed in the quotation just made will not be realized. However helpful in exploiting resources, however profitable it may be, cheap Asiatic labor has not appealed for long to the people of Canada and Australia any more than to the people of the western part of the United States. The majority of the people are now asking, what end is the exploitation of resources to serve? They are thinking, and within limits quite properly, in terms of living and opportunity and not in terms of national wealth amassed, large profits, high land values, and high rents. Most of the recent legislation merely gives expression to this thought. Social insurance, mothers' pensions, and minimum wage legislation sweeping over the country are explained only in this way. Washington, Oregon, California, Utah, and Colorado are five of the nine commonwealths that have adopted the minimum wage for women or for women and minors within the last three years.

---

[1] *Japan's Message to America*, edited and compiled by Naoichi Masaoka, pp. 39-41.

Demand for Protection against Low Standards.— The protest against low wages is strong; that against alterable conditions which make for low wages should be still stronger. It is becoming more and more the opinion of scholars in this country that the national welfare is to be best promoted by looking carefully to the efficiency of and opportunity for those near the bottom of the industrial ladder and that the best protective tariff is that to protect labor. The reaction against competition from cheap labor from whatever source is not only natural and easily explained but has cause. Immigration involves a conflict of standards. Other things equal, the greater the difference in standards the greater the immigration to the high standard country and the greater the reaction against it. Possibly through no fault of their own, the countries of eastern Asia are low standard countries. The only substantial reason why there is desire to emigrate from them is found in the fact that they are so. When they cease to be low standard countries the chief motive to emigration will disappear, and, at the same time, the chief objection to Asiatic immigration — that is of laborers — will cease to have reason for the problem will solve itself.

Narrow Restriction necessary to protect Standards. — Not only did both Chinese and Japanese laborers underbid for work when their admission was not greatly restricted; their methods of securing work through "bosses" or contractors made their competition more disastrous to others than it would have been. This matter, however, has been fully enough presented in the earlier part of this report. But it must not be forgotten — and many have forgotten it — that the absence of much underbidding at present and the loosening bonds of the organization which earlier obtained argue nothing with regard to a return to a less restrictive immigration policy. Nor is it to be forgotten that competition on the basis of different standards has taken place in some branches of business and in farming. A narrow restriction of immigration of Asiatics is necessary if standards are not to be lowered on the Pacific Coast, where most would enter the country and where most of those who enter would remain.

Restriction Necessary for Other Reasons Also. — A narrow restriction is necessary for other reasons. Any considerable immigration of Asiatic laborers would lead to friction and discrimination very much as it has in the past. Instead of the civilization of each gaining something from the other, each is likely to lose. Real gain can come only with harmonious relations, but harmonious relations could not be maintained if there were any considerable immigration. Rather would injustice be visited upon the immigrant. If there was friction and misunderstanding, commercial relations would be jeopardized. Moreover, as has been stated in the preceding chapter, whatever the capacity of the Japanese for assimilation, they would be encysted in and not adequately assimilated to the population of the West if any large number came in and complicated still more the situation that now exists.

Both Parties would be Injured by any Considerable Immigration. — All that has been said comes simply to this: injury would come to both parties in the event that immigration brought any considerable number of Asiatics to our shores to share the soil with the elements in the white population of the West. Any immigration policy adopted must be based upon a recognition of this fact. Otherwise it will only create problems; it will not solve them. It would seem that the Japanese government recognizes this fact. Certainly most of the Japanese here recognize it. So do most of their friends. All should do so.

Any Claim made to our Superior Resources Ineffective. — Nor will any appeal made on the ground of difference in opportunity offered by the natural resources of Japan and those of the United States be effective. It is true of course that Japan's resources are limited and inferior to ours. The natural increase of her population has been rapid during the last generation,[1] and an outlet must be found by emigration or by the development of industries to supplement agriculture and other extractive industries in which the majority of those gainfully occupied are engaged. While nations are struggling for prestige and power — as Japan is now doing unofficially by creating a demand for domestic as against foreign products — they will be slow to share their resources freely with others unless they can reckon on gain by so doing. It may be argued "that unlimited natural resources and a boundless tract of land in the United States afford ample room for a great number of people, and it is better for her and for the general interest of humanity that her resources be opened and utilized,"[2] but any implied claim will be passed upon chiefly with reference to whether "it is better for her."

But to Enact an Exclusion Law would be Illogical and an Affront to Japan. — So much with reference to the position of those who would advocate a considerably greater degree of freedom of immigration than is now accorded. Looking at the other side of the matter, those members of Congress and others who believe in replacing the agreement

---

[1] The census figures for the Japanese population for the years 1888 and 1908 were as follows:

YEAR	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL
1888	20,008,000	19,599,000	39,607,000
1908	25,046,380	24,542,424	49,588,804

Thus the average annual increase was 1.26 per cent. The estimated population in 1913 was 52,985,423. That of Korea was 14,827,101.

[2] Quoted from Soyeda and Kamiya, *A Survey of the Japanese Question in California*, p. 9.

with Japan by a discriminatory law, such as the Chinese exclusion act, should recognize the fact that there is no problem of Japanese immigration to be solved in that way. The agreement has been more effective than the Chinese exclusion act. There is every reason to believe that if it is observed in the future as it has been in the past, it will be found to be more effective than any exclusion law not more drastic in its provisions than the Chinese exclusion act. Certainly the control of immigration under the agreement with Japan has been more effective than our administration of an exclusion act would be with less coöperation on the part of that government. It would be illogical to enact an exclusion law just so long as the agreement is effective. It is illogical to enact any law unless there is a problem to be solved by so doing. It would be unjust to enact an exclusion law so long as Japan is willing and capable of enforcing the terms of the agreement. Moreover, to enact such a law so long as the Japanese government faithfully observes the agreement entered into in 1907, would be too serious an affront to offer a people jealous of its honor and determined to command the treatment due a first-class nation.

Control under a General Immigration Law Desirable. — Thus, it is maintained on the one hand that no policy can be reasonably adopted which would permit any considerable immigration of eastern Asiatic laborers across the Pacific to reside in the Pacific Coast states, and, on the other hand, that the present agreement should not be replaced by an exclusion law. Yet, if a general immigration law could be framed to embrace immigrants of all races and to avoid the invidious distinctions implied in restrictive agreements, exclusion acts, and discriminating administration of the existing general immigration law, it should be adopted. The existing agreement offends many Japanese and it might break down, the exclusion act offends China though in less degree, and the exclusion of East Indian laborers under a strained and doubtful interpretation of the general immigration law brings protest from the members of that race. Dr. Gulick's suggestions for a general immigration law are designed to remove offense and to aid in solving the problem connected with a swollen immigration from South and East European countries. The writer is of the opinion that such a measure as Dr. Gulick suggests, modified somewhat, should be adopted unless it would present serious difficulties in administration.

Dr. Gulick's Plan. — Dr. Gulick's plan for a general immigration law which would replace the existing general law, the agreement with Japan and the Chinese exclusion act, may be stated in outline in his own words:[1]

"A *new general immigration law* is needed, which shall apply impartially to all races. We must abandon all differential Asiatic treatment, even as regards immigration. The danger of an overwhelming Oriental immigration can be obviated by a general law allowing a maximum annual immigration from any land of a certain fixed percentage of those from that land already here and naturalized. The valid principle on which such a law would rest is the fact that newcomers from any land enter and become assimilated to our life chiefly through the agency of those from that land already here. These know the languages, customs, and ideals of both nations. Consequently, the larger the number already assimilated, the larger the number of those who can be wisely admitted year by year. The same percentage rate would permit of great differences in actual numbers from different lands.

---

[1] The following statement is quoted from Dr. Gulick's *The American-Japanese Problem*, pp. 284–286.

"By way of illustrating this suggestion, consider the following outline of a general immigration law:

"The maximum number of immigrants in a single year from any nation, race, or group having a single 'mother tongue' shall be:

"Five per cent of those from the same land who are already naturalized American citizens, including their American-born children.

"In addition to these there shall also be admitted, from any land, all who are returning to America, having at some previous time had a residence here of not less than three years.

"All immediate dependent relatives of those who have had a residence here of not less than three years.

"All who have had an education in their own land equivalent to the American high school, with not less than three years' study of some foreign tongue.

"In the application of these provisions, individuals who come as *bona-fide* travelers, government officials, students — in a word, all who are provided for by funds from their native land — should not be counted as immigrants; but all merchants, professionals, students, and all others, even though not technically laborers, who yet depend on their own efforts in this land for a living should be so reckoned."

A Modified Plan Suggested. — Varying somewhat from Dr. Gulick's suggestions, the writer feels that a bill modifying the existing general immigration law in the following respects and applying to Asiatics as well as others, should be given serious consideration by Congress. Include as "immigrants" all subjects of a foreign power who apply for admission except aliens who have resided in the United States but have been out of the country not to exceed three years, *bona-fide* travelers, government officials, and students not dependent upon labor in this country for their support. Amend the existing law so that except in the case of Canada, Newfoundland, Mexico, and Cuba,[1] the number of immigrants admitted in any one year shall not exceed 5 per cent of the total of those who had taken their "second papers" and the native born of one or both parents born in the given country, as recorded in the Census of 1910. Provide, however, that the maximum number in no case shall be less than 1000 in order that immigration from new countries shall not be unduly

[1] This exception is dictated by administrative considerations. Moreover, the Canadians and the people of the United States are almost one people, living under similar conditions and with the same institutions.

restricted. Wives, children under sixteen years of age, and other dependent relatives should not be counted in reckoning the number to be admitted. Only those immigrants should be admitted who come with a proper certificate signed and numbered by a designated officer of the American government residing in the country from which they emigrate. Except in the case of subjects of Canada and Mexico, immigrants should be permitted to land only at seaports where immigration stations are provided. Each one admitted should be registered and any immigrant found unregistered in the United States should be liable to deportation. The Commissioner-General of Immigration or some other executive officer should be empowered, with the consent of the President, to waive, by order properly issued, the limitation on the number of any race emigrating from a country because of political or religious persecution. The numbers fixed upon in the law should obtain (subject to the exception just noted) *indefinitely* and until changed by act of Congress.[1]

The General Effect of Such a Measure. — While it is impossible to make comparisons between the data presented by the Census of 1910 and the immigrants admitted to the United States in 1914 to show accurately just how restrictive such a measure as that suggested would be, its general effect is roughly shown by the following table:

---

[1] To avoid difficulties which would arise when a new Census was taken and to avoid any implied promise to permit larger numbers to be admitted when the total used as a basis in establishing the numbers fixed upon in the law, had increased by naturalization or by native birth.

I Country	II No. Foreign Born Males 21 and over in U. S.	III No. of same Naturalized	IV No. of Native Born of Foreign Parentage	V Total of Cols. III and IV	VI Possible Annual Immigration other than Excepted Classes	VII Immigrant Aliens Admitted in 1914
A. Northwest Europe —						
Great Britain and Ireland	1,311,182	770,094	5,163,277	5,933,371	296,669	73,417
Germany . .	1,278,677	889,007	5,781,437	6,670,444	333,522	35,734
Norway . .	213,042	121,651	575,241	696,892	34,845	8,329
Sweden . .	340,022	219,057	690,032	909,089	45,454	14,800
Denmark . .	102,398	63,068	218,443	281,511	14,076	6,263
Netherlands	50,751	33,922	173,521	207,443	10,372	6,321
Belgium . .	27,619	11,869	39,867	51,736	2,587	5,763
France . .	59,661	29,613	175,153	204,766	10,238	9,296
Switzerland. .	69,241	42,760	176,816	219,576	10,979	4,211
B. South & East Europe —						
Portugal . .	28,693	7,141	53,499	60,640	3,032	10,898
Spain . . .	14,170	2,318	11,157	13,475	1,000	7,591
Italy . . .	712,812	126,523	755,290	881,813	44,091	283,738
Russia . .	737,120	192,264	938,897	1,131,161	56,553	255,660
Finland . .	70,716	21,669	81,357	103,026	5,151	
Austria . .	609,347	149,914	826,635	976,549	48,827	134,831
Hungary . .	255,844	36,610	204,627	241,237	12,619	143,321
Roumania	27,835	8,014	21,801	29,815	1,491	4,032
Bulgaria, Servia & Montenegro . .	17,324	821	1,234	2,055	1,000	9,189
Greece	74,975	4,046	8,401	12,447	1,000	35,832
Turkey in Europe . .	22,788	1,474	3,093	4,567	1,000	8,199
C. China & Japan						
China . . .		(a)	22,130 (b)	22,130 (a)	1,107	2,502
Japan . . .			24,391 (b)	24,391	1,220	8,929

(a) Number naturalized in Hawaiian Islands, unknown but few.

(b) Native born in Hawaiian Islands included — Chinese 7,195, Japanese 19,889.

As stated above, a comparison of columns VI and VII of this table shows only roughly the restrictive effects of such a general immigration law. To show the effects accurately the wives, children under sixteen years of age, and dependent relatives would have to be deducted from, and the non-immigrant aliens other than travelers, officials, students, and aliens returning to the United States within three years after leaving a residence acquired here, would have to be added to the figures given in column VII. Moreover, allowance would have to be made for those in Hawaii of foreign parentage in setting down the numbers in column VI, and that has been done only in the case of the Japanese and Chinese. On the whole the effect would be less restrictive than would appear from comparing the figures given. In the case of Northwest Europeans, there would be no restriction except possibly in one or two cases. With South and East Europeans, on the other hand, there would be considerable restriction in every case and in some cases the restriction would be drastic. In the case of Chinese and Japanese there would be no real change. Upon examination of the details relating to immigrants of those races admitted in 1913 it is found that 105 Chinese and 980 Japanese other than those in the excepted classes provided for in the suggested plan, were admitted to the United States and Hawaii.[1] The maximum number (1000) of East Indians who might be admitted would be larger than the number (160) for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1914.

---

[1] Details for the year 1913-14 are not yet at hand.

Widespread Feeling in the West that Immigration from South and East Europe should be Restricted. — No doubt protests would be numerous in the East against such a plan because of its restrictive effects upon immigration from certain European countries. Many in the West also would protest for that reason. Yet the writer in the course of his investigations found a widespread feeling that the immigration from South and East Europe is undesirably large and that it should be restricted. It is very generally felt that with the opening of the Panama Canal undesirably larger numbers of people from the Mediterranean countries will immigrate directly to the Pacific Coast states when the present war is over. California three years ago began to organize to meet the problem. Two years ago a Commission of Immigration and Housing was created to prepare for it. It would appear, however, that no method has been found which promises to solve to any great extent the problems which will arise if large numbers are admitted. A year ago (November 7–8, 1913) a Western Labor Immigration Conference was held at Seattle at which resolutions favoring the literacy test and other measures which would restrict the volume of immigration from Europe, as well as a resolution in favor of a general Asiatic exclusion law were adopted.[1] Resolutions adopted by other public and semipublic bodies likewise give expression to the fear of an unduly large immigration.

---

[1] Printed Proceedings of Western Immigration Conference held in Labor Temple, Seattle, Wash., Nov. 7–8, 1913.

Various Opinions as to Such a Measure as that suggested Above. — In the course of my investigations, care was exercised to secure from the many persons conferred with, representing all classes, their opinion of some such measure as that suggested by Dr. Gulick as a substitute for the agreement with Japan and the Chinese exclusion law. Needless to say, most had not heard of it, and when it was outlined could have no well-matured opinion concerning it. Japanese officials, as a rule, reflected the point of view of their government and stated that the question of immigration was not at issue. Most of them, however, thought well of the plan. Most secretaries of Japanese associations and others occupying similar positions approved it. So do most of the Japanese business men, though it is doubtless true that they very generally desire as many of their countrymen admitted as possible "without giving rise to trouble."[1] Only here and there was one found who argued for a large immigration and who expressed the opinion that the agitation should be ignored until such time as it should "die out." Most of those actively concerned in furthering the welfare of the Japanese and in bringing about closer relations between Japan and the United States, favor some such plan as that presented by Dr. Gulick. They recognize that it would be very restrictive of Japanese immigration but maintain that there must be restriction. Yet a majority feel that to agitate for a change in the immigration law at present may be unwise. The Japan Society of America, for example, has decided for the present to advocate only an amendment of the naturalization law so that foreign-born Japanese may become American citizens. A considerable number of their friends, however, oppose Dr. Gulick's plan because it "takes advantage" of the small number of native born and the fact that the Japanese have not been permitted to become naturalized, and, while general and equal in terms, is in fact discriminatory. At Seattle and Denver and in a few other places of less importance, some trade-unionists favored Dr. Gulick's plan when it was explained to them. They thought it was adequate and would make no particular change in the situation so far as numbers were concerned. In California, however, every trade-unionist conferred with demanded a general Asiatic exclusion law.

---

[1] This expression was used over and over. The Japanese here want above all else to be treated as equals and to avoid friction.

Merits of the Plan. — But whatever the division of opinion, taking all things other than those connected with administration into consideration, the writer believes Dr. Gulick's plan, changed in the respects indicated above, has distinct merit. The restrictions proposed are based primarily on citizenship. This indicates fairly well the number in the country who will come in close contact with the new immigrants and assist in their assimilation. Yet the writer is not one of those who believe that assimilation in the sense in which it is commonly used is "the final test." The country's need of labor, the retardation of improvement in and the deterioration of labor conditions, the distribution of the immigrants, the effect on all of our social institutions, the effect on opportunity in the future, and the effect on the character of the American race itself must all be given due consideration. The writer believes, however, that all such considerations combine to give merit to the plan above outlined, and it has the incidental advantage of bringing all races under one law and avoiding obvious discrimination.

There is a General Immigration Problem. — Space cannot be devoted in this report to a discussion in detail of the general immigration problem as it presents itself. The best students of it are generally agreed that radical restriction is needed. They are generally agreed that there is an "oversupply of unskilled labor in the industries of the country as a whole," and a condition of retarded improvement with some deterioration of labor conditions which "demands legislation restricting the further admission of such unskilled labor."[1] They are generally agreed, moreover, that this problem is closely connected with the fact that more than four fifths of the European immigration is from the southern and eastern countries, which have the lowest standards, and the immigrants from which are most congested in their occupations and residence as compared to the distribution of the native born. All agree that in the case of the "newer immigration" there are greater differences in institutions and customs than in the case of the immigrants from Northwestern Europe to be overcome in the process of assimilation. Most students are agreed that the South and East Europeans taken as a whole are less sensitive than the Northwest Europeans to the American environment, and that a situation has developed in the industrial centers of the East in which assimilation proceeds in halting and uncertain fashion and out of which numerous problems of local government, administration, and institutions develop. Some argue that a wider distribution is all that is required, but it is probably true that it would serve to lower temporarily the content of the labor reservoirs and then to increase the inflow from abroad. Though as yet there has been no great problem of dependency connected with the "newer immigration," it may be expected to follow in time. A proper use of the data available shows that some prominent elements in the immigration from South and East European countries complicate and make more difficult the problem of maintaining law and order.

---

[1] Quotations are from the Conclusions and Recommendations of the Immigration Commission.

Restriction Needed. — Restriction of immigration is needed. Upon the close of the present war, it will in all probability be sorely needed. If proper provision is made for those persecuted, the restrictions imposed should discriminate in their effects against the races of South and East Europe. They should discriminate in their effects still more against immigrant laborers from Asia, who without restriction are the cheapest and frequently the best organized laborers and have the most injurious effects in competition, who institutionally and in thought have more to be overcome in assimilation, and who are handicapped by an obvious difference in color. Moreover, the natural stopping place of the eastern Asiatics is on the Pacific Coast, so that the effects of their immigration are concentrated upon a limited territory. The plan suggested is believed to have merit in that it is restrictive, is general and non-discriminatory in form, and would discriminate only reasonably in its effects.

But once admitted there should be no Discrimination in the Treatment of Immigrants.—The Japanese problem involves, also, the question of the treatment accorded those who are here now and those who are to be admitted. Passing over the constructive aspects which have been woefully neglected by the United States in dealing with its immigrants, it may be stated as a broad principle, that the question of who should be admitted being properly settled, all persons lawfully in this country should be accorded the same rights and privileges under the law, when properly qualified to exercise them. In the ownership and disposition of property, in business engaged in, in taxation, in school facilities, and the like, there should be no discrimination between races. Of course if some foreign-born children are much older than others of the same degree of advancement or are badly handicapped in the use of English, it is quite proper to provide separate schools for them. This is merely adapting methods to a desirable object and does not involve discrimination because of race.

The Federal Naturalization Law Discriminates. — In one important respect our federal law discriminates on racial grounds. The naturalization law as amended in 1875 provides for the naturalization of "aliens being free white persons and . . . aliens of African nativity and . . . persons of African descent." It provides negatively "that hereafter no state court or court of the United States shall admit Chinese to citizenship." Thus the Chinese were definitely discriminated against by Congress. The Japanese without intentional discrimination, coming after the naturalization law was given shape, have been placed under the same disability, for not being free white persons, or of African nativity or of African descent, the courts have generally held that they are ineligible for naturalization.[1] Advantage has recently been

---

[1] It appears that no case has yet been decided by the United States Supreme Court. A few Japanese have been permitted to take "first papers" and a few to become naturalized, but generally the courts have declared them to be ineligible for naturalization. The following are four of the leading cases holding Japanese ineligible for naturalization:

In re Saito (62 Fed., 126): The court held that Japanese, like Chinese, belong to the Mongolian race, and so are not entitled to naturalization, not being included within the terms "white persons."

In re Buntaro Kumagai (163 Fed., 922, Dist. Ct. Washington, 1908): Held that honorable discharge from the military service of the United States does not extend the right to become naturalized to a person of the Japanese race.

In re Knight (171 Fed., 299, D. C. E. D., New York, 1909): A petitioner born on British schooner in the Yellow Sea, father an Englishman, mother half Chinese and half Japanese, and in the taken of this disability in Arizona and California in giving form to laws relating to the ownership and leasing of land and Japanese have been deprived of rights they had previously enjoyed.[1] The struggle incidental to the enactment of the discriminatory law in California brought the question of the naturalization of Japanese to the fore, and now the Japanese in the United States, in the language of one of them, regard the right to become naturalized as "the crux of the whole matter."

Japanese anxious for the Right of Naturalization. — It will be recalled that the California alien land act makes, by implication, a distinction between those aliens who are eligible to naturalization and those who are not, and while conferring the same rights over real property upon the former as are enjoyed by citizens, limits the rights of the latter to those conferred by treaty with the exception that they may lease land for agricultural purposes for periods not exceeding three years.[2] The existing treaty of commerce and navigation does not confer upon Japanese the right to pur-

---

service of the United States Navy since 1882, was denied citizenship because not a "free white person."

In re Takiyi Yamashita (30 Wash., 234, 70 Pac. Rep., 482, 1902). Application for admission to the bar denied on the ground that petitioner was not entitled to naturalization, not being a "free white person," and judgment of naturalization previously given in the Superior Court held to be void.

The status of the Japanese has been discussed by Roy Malcom in the *California Outlook*, May 31, 1913, pp. 8 *et seq.*

[1] See Chapter VIII, where this legislation is discussed.

[2] For discussion, see Chapter VIII. For the text of the law, see Appendix B.

chase, hold (with certain exceptions), or transfer upon death to persons not eligible to citizenship, land of any description. In the prolonged diplomatic correspondence growing out of this discriminatory legislation, the fact that Japanese were not accorded the same rights of citizenship as were accorded to the subjects of other first-class nations was mentioned as "hurtful to their just national susceptibility."[1] While equal treatment for its subjects in this respect was not urged by the Japanese government and while it was stated that "the question of naturalization is a political problem of national, not international, concern," a second question has in a way been officially raised. The Japanese are most anxious for the right to become naturalized and the Japan Society of America has decided to conduct an educational campaign to that end.[2]

Why Naturalization is Wanted.—Those who desire a change in the naturalization law are of the opinion that if a considerable number of Japanese had the right to vote, legislative bodies would cease to discriminate against them in laws and ordinances adopted. Of most immediate interest is the fact that the discriminatory land laws of Arizona and California would lose their force if all aliens, or Japanese aliens, were made eligible to citizenship by amendment of the federal law. Most important of all in creating a desire for a change in the law is the feeling that the existing naturalization law does the Japanese an injustice and robs them of an opportunity to share fully in the institutional life of their adopted country. Moreover, it withholds from them a privilege extended to all aliens in Japan and a privilege the Japanese government would permit them to enjoy, for it allows expatriation. And, again, it withholds from them a privilege they enjoy in Canada, where the same immigration situation obtains. In British Columbia and the neighboring provinces a few thousand Japanese have become naturalized, the majority of them incidental to obtaining licenses as fishermen. In British Columbia, it may be added, however, that they are not given the right to vote.[1]

---

[1] By Baron Chinda in a communication to the Secretary of State, June 4, 1913.

[2] The Japan Society of America has a membership of 160 or more. Between 30 and 40 are prominent Japanese, the others Americans. Nearly all live in or near San Francisco.

Japanese Opinion as voiced by Mr. Kawakami. — The way the Japanese feel about the political disability under which they labor in this country is well shown by the following quotation from Mr. Kawakami's *Asia at the Door:*[2]

"Whether our country [the United States] has reached a stage where we should no longer receive immigrants without restriction, is a question which I cannot discuss here. One thing, however, seems certain: namely, that any alien, once admitted into our territories, must also be given opportunity to prove that he can be a faithful and worthy citizen of the Republic. To be more definite, our doors of citizenship must be open to all aliens, and especially those who come from countries which by dint of their achievements in the arts of peace and of warfare, have been admitted into the family of civilized nations. For the sake of our national solidarity and advancement, it is not advisable that any alien should be permitted to enter our country without at the same time affording him the privilege to become a citizen. Foreign people living within our jurisdiction with no hope of becoming American citizens, constitute a floating unstable element in our national existence. They will not feel with us, nor will they think as we think. To them the woe and weal of our body politic are of little consequence, and the conduct of our public affairs is of no greater interest than the domestic affairs of their strange neighbors.

---

[1] See Kawakami, *Asia at the Door*, Chapter XV. [2] Pages 68-69.

"Nor is this all. When we single out aliens of a certain race or nationality as objects of discrimination in the matter of naturalization we fix upon them the odium of inferiority and thus instill in their hearts a feeling of resentment. We look down upon them with contempt, and they reciprocate with disdain. We assume a suspicious attitude towards them, and they also look at us with suspicion. It is human nature, and cannot be avoided. The remedy is obvious. Open the doors of citizenship to them, encourage them to become worthy members of the commonwealth, and their hearts will glow with hope and they will strive to prove their right and fitness to become American citizens."

No Aliens should be permitted to enter the Country without being Eligible to Citizenship.—While it must be remembered that the naturalization law was adopted before there was any immigration of Japanese and there has been no positive discrimination against them by Congress, these statements by Mr. Kawakami should command assent. His statement that no alien should be permitted to enter this country without being eligible to citizenship is based upon good principle. Acceptable individuals of any race living here should be able to become citizens.

Many Americans favor an Amendment of the Naturalization Law. — In my investigations care was taken to secure the opinions of persons with whom I conferred with reference to the naturalization of Japanese and Chinese. Most of those who do not believe in drastic limitation of immigration favor an amendment of the naturalization law so that it will apply alike to all races. The exceptions are some of those who believe in an immigration merely to serve industrial ends. Many who believe in as limited an immigration as we now have were found, also, to favor a change in the naturalization law. Among them were a few trade-unionists.

Race Antipathy has much to do with Opposition to any Change. — The percentage who oppose any such change in the law was found, however, to be extremely large. My impression was that race antipathy had much to do with the position taken. But numerous reasons were assigned for the opposition to any change. One was that were the right to become naturalized extended to the Japanese, it would be interpreted as showing desirability on their part, and an unrestricted immigration would be demanded by them. This was advanced in a striking manner particularly by one of the ablest students of world politics in the West. Were the matter of immigration settled by positive legislation of the kind outlined in this chapter, whatever force the argument has would be lost.

Perhaps a Large Percentage of Japanese would become Citizens if given the Opportunity.— Some argued that the Japanese were so loyal to their native government that they would not become naturalized, or if naturalized, could not become loyal citizens of this country. With reference to how many would become naturalized, the Immigration Commission stated the results of its investigations in the following words:

> "During the investigation a comparatively large number of the farmers and business classes expressed a desire to become naturalized and expressed regret at the discrimination against persons who do not belong to the white race."[1]

Though there is no consensus of opinion among Japanese in regard to the matter, my personal inquiries lead me to believe that a very large percentage of those who have families here and expect to remain permanently would seek citizenship if they had the opportunity. In Canada a large percentage have become citizens, but five sixths of those in British Columbia (a large majority of all) have been interested chiefly in the fishing license withheld from aliens. With reference to the matter of loyalty, my impression is that unless citizenship was acquired incidental to avoiding prohibitions upon aliens or unless there was continued strife, nearly all who became naturalized would be loyal citizens. Unless it was necessary to do so in order to avoid discriminating legislation, few would become naturalized in whom the feeling of loyalty to the fatherland had not been pretty much overcome.

---

[1] Immigration Commission, Report, Vol. 23, p. 160.

There might be a "Japanese Vote," but it would be Small. — Another objection usually made by those who oppose naturalization of Japanese and Chinese is that they would vote "as a unit." If there was much discrimination against them, they doubtless would. Moreover, it cannot be denied that the feeling of solidarity among the Japanese is strong. The difference between them and the Germans, Poles, and Italians, for example, is, however, merely one of degree. It may be said, moreover, that the numbers of Asiatics in the continental United States are too small to count for much in any event. In Hawaii, where a considerable number of Chinese were naturalized before the Islands were annexed and where there are also a few hundred adult native-born, the Chinese are ordinarily regarded as a good conservative class of voters.

In any Legislation the Situation in Hawaii must be given Serious Consideration. — It was interesting that in this connection no one referred to the situation in Hawaii, where in 1910 the Japanese constituted 41.5 per cent, the Chinese 11.3 per cent, of the total population. Of males they constituted 44.5 and 13.9 per cent respectively of the entire number. The number of white males was little larger than that of Chinese and less than one half as large as that of Japanese. In that territory the economic position of the races and the industrial situation are such that friction in economic matters might occur. Any legislation concerning naturalization should take this situation into consideration. Possibly an exception should be made in this case. Yet Hawaii is not without citizens who advocate a change in the law so that Asiatics can become naturalized.

Any Legislation involves Risk. — My own opinion is that the naturalization law should be changed so as to make the aliens of all races eligible to citizenship. Such a law would be based upon good principle and would do much to foster good feeling on the part of Asiatics towards the United States — an end greatly to be desired. It would eliminate the discrimination in the Arizona and California alien land laws and prevent discrimination being practiced in that particular manner in the future. Yet it must be made emphatic that any discussion of measures interpreted as favorable to Asiatics, whether relating to immigration or to naturalization, will meet with great opposition on the Pacific Coast and incidental to it there might be more discrimination than has thus far been practiced.[1] The California alien land law may be practically set aside, but if there is sufficient demand for a discriminatory law, there is no constitutional way, unless it is through treaties, to prevent the adoption of measures which would discriminate against aliens of races specifically named. This is not a highly centralized government. A worse situation than that which obtains can be easily imagined. The greatest factors in solving problems are time and mutual understanding. Misunderstanding easily arises. Governments should avoid drifting into policies which create problems.

---

[1] It will be recalled that then President Roosevelt's recommendation (in Message to Congress, Dec. 3, 1906) that provision should

---

be made for the naturalization of Japanese, met with loud protest from the Pacific Coast.

APPENDIX A

EXTRACTS FROM THE TREATY OF COMMERCE AND NAVIGATION AND PROTOCOL BETWEEN JAPAN AND THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, OF FEBRUARY 21, 1911

His Majesty, the Emperor of Japan, and the President of the United States of America, being desirous to strengthen the relations of amity and good understanding which happily exist between the two nations, and believing that the fixation in a manner clear and positive of the rules which are hereafter to govern the commercial intercourse between their respective countries will contribute to this most desirable result, have resolved to conclude a treaty of commerce and navigation.

Article I. — The subjects or citizens of each of the high contracting parties shall have liberty to enter, travel, and reside in the territories of the other, to carry on trade, wholesale and retail, to own or lease and occupy houses, manufactories, warehouses, and shops, to employ agents of their choice, to lease land for residential and commercial purposes, and generally to do anything incident to or necessary for trade, upon the same terms as native subjects or citizens, submitting themselves to the laws and regulations there established.

They shall not be compelled, under any pretext whatever, to pay any charges or taxes other or higher than those that are or may be paid by native subjects or citizens.

The subjects or citizens of each of the high contracting parties shall receive, in the territories of the other, the most constant protection and security for their persons and property and shall enjoy in this respect the same rights and privileges as are or may be granted to native subjects or citizens, on their submitting themselves to the conditions imposed upon the native subjects and citizens.

Article IV.—There shall be between the territories of the two high contracting parties reciprocal freedom of commerce and navigation. The subjects or citizens of each of the contracting parties, equally with the subjects or citizens of the most favored nation shall have liberty freely to come with their ships and cargoes to all places, ports, and rivers in the territories of the other which are or may be opened to foreign commerce, subject always to the laws of the country to which they thus come.

Article V.—. . . Neither contracting party shall impose any other or higher duties or charges on the exportation of any article to the territories of the other than are or may be payable on the exportation of the like article to any other foreign country.

Nor shall any prohibition be imposed by either country on the importation or exportation of any article from or to the territories of the other which shall not equally extend to the like article imported from or exported to any other country.

Article XIV. — Except as otherwise expressly provided in this treaty, the high contracting parties agree that in all that concerns commerce and navigation, any privilege, favor, or immunity which either contracting party has actually granted or may hereafter grant, to the subjects or citizens of any other state shall be extended to the subjects or citizens of the other contracting party . . . on the same or equivalent conditions. . . .

Declaration

In proceeding this day to the signature of the treaty of commerce and navigation, . . . the undersigned has the honor to declare that the Imperial Japanese Government are fully prepared to maintain with equal effectiveness the limitation and control which they have for the past three years exercised in regulation of the immigration of laborers to the United States.

(Signed) Y. UCHIDA.

February 21, 1911.

APPENDIX B

CALIFORNIA'S ALIEN LAND LAW

(Approved May 19, 1913)

The people of the State of California do enact as follows:

Section 1. All aliens eligible to citizenship under the laws of the United States may acquire, possess, enjoy, transmit and inherit real property, or any interest therein, in this State, in the same manner and to the same extent as citizens of the United States, except as otherwise provided by the laws of this State.

Sec. 2. All aliens other than those mentioned in section one of this act may acquire, possess, enjoy and transfer real property, or any interest therein, in this State, in the manner and to the extent and for the purposes prescribed by any treaty now existing between the government of the United States and the nation or country of which such alien is a citizen or subject and not otherwise, and may in addition thereto lease lands in this State for agricultural purposes for a term not exceeding three years.

Sec. 3. Any company, association or corporation organized under the laws of this or any other State or nation, of which a majority of the members are aliens other than those specified in section one of this act, or in which a majority of the issued capital stock is owned by such aliens, may acquire, possess, enjoy and convey real property, or any interest therein, in this State, in the manner and to the extent and for the purposes prescribed by any treaty now existing between the government of the United States and the nation or country of which such members or stockholders are citizens or subjects, and not otherwise, and may in addition thereto lease lands in this State for agricultural purposes for a term not exceeding three years.

Sec. 4. Whenever it appears to the court in any probate proceeding that by reason of the provisions of this act any heir or devisee can not take real property in this State which, but for said provisions, said heir or devisee would take as such, the court, instead of ordering a distribution of such real property to such heir or devisee, shall order a sale of said real property to be made in the manner provided by law for probate sales of real property, and the proceeds of such sale shall be distributed to such heir or devisee in lieu of such real property.

Sec. 5. Any real property hereafter acquired in fee in violation of the provisions of this act by any alien mentioned in section two of this act, or by any company, association or corporation mentioned in section three of this act, shall escheat to, and become and remain the property of the State of California. The attorney general shall institute proceedings to have the escheat of such real property adjudged and enforced in the manner provided by section

474 of the Political Code and title eight, part three of the Code of Civil Procedure. Upon the entry of final judgment in such proceedings, the title to such real property shall pass to the State of California. The provisions of this section and of sections two and three of this act shall not apply to any real property hereafter acquired in the enforcement or in satisfaction of any lien now existing upon, or interest in such property, so long as such real property so acquired shall remain the property of the alien, company, association or corporation acquiring the same in such manner.

Sec. 6. Any leasehold or other interest in real property less than the fee, hereafter acquired in violation of the provisions of this act by any alien mentioned in section two of this act, or by any company, association or corporation mentioned in section three of this act, shall escheat to the State of California. The attorney general shall institute proceedings to have such escheat adjudged and enforced as provided in section five of this act. In such proceedings the court shall determine and adjudge the value of such leasehold, or other interest in such real property, and enter judgment for the State for the amount thereof together with costs. Thereupon the court shall order a sale of the real property covered by such leasehold, or other interest, in the manner provided by section 1271 of the Code of Civil Procedure. Out of the proceeds arising from such sale, the amount of the judgment rendered for the State shall be paid into the State treasury and the balance shall be deposited with and distributed by the court in accordance with the interest of the parties therein.

Sec. 7. Nothing in this act shall be construed as a limitation upon the power of the State to enact laws with respect to the acquisition, holding or disposal by aliens of real property in this State.

Sec. 8. All acts and parts of acts inconsistent or in conflict with the provisions of this act, are hereby repealed.

APPENDIX C

A JAPANESE SUMMARY STATEMENT CONCERNING THE STRUGGLE OVER THE ENACTMENT OF THE CALIFORNIA ALIEN LAND LAW

Upon the opening of the last session of the State Legislature of California, the Imperial Government made to Mr. Taft, then the President, and to Mr. Knox, then the Secretary of State, an earnest request that, in order to prevent the enactment of anti-Japanese laws, appropriate and effective measures might be taken by the Federal Government, as had been done in similar circumstances on previous occasions. This they gladly complied with. As, however, it was near the close of his administration, Mr. Taft could not do much before he was relieved by Mr. Wilson. In view of the situation which prevailed in the State of California at that time, the Imperial Government thought it wise to call the special attention of the new Administration to the matter and instructed Ambassador Chinda to approach the new President for that purpose. Mr. Wilson received Ambassador Chinda on March 5, the second day of the new Administration. Under instructions of his Government, Viscount Chinda stated to the President, on that occasion, that the Imperial Government were deeply pained to find, in spite of Japan's constant friendly attitude towards the United States; various bills of anti-Japanese nature pending in the Legislatures of the Pacific Coast States, particularly in that of California, and that, should any of these bills become a law, the effect would be very serious, and the Ambassador expressed an earnest hope that the new Executive would, in the interest of the friendly relations of the two countries, exhaust his best endeavors to check the threatened hostile legislation. The President thanked the Ambassador for the representation thus made, and assured him that, although the Central Government could not, under the Constitution of the United States, interfere with the rights reserved to the States of the Union, he would not hesitate to do all in his power to meet the wishes of the Imperial Government. On March 13, the same assurance was given to the Ambassador by Mr. Bryan, the Secretary of State.

Meantime, in California our Consul was doing all that he could properly do in the circumstances. Besides, the Panama Pacific International Exposition Company, which was energetically opposed to the enactment of hostile measures, did not hesitate to use every legitimate means in their power, to prevent the antagonistic measures in question from being carried out. In addition, a number of chambers of commerce and other influential bodies passed resolutions condemning such anti-Japanese legislation, and similar views were also expressed in no small number of newspapers.

In the first part of the session the fate of the bill remained in doubt, but in the latter half of the session the activities of the anti-Japanese members in the Legislature increased and the situation became serious.

Thereupon Ambassador Chinda, under instructions from the Imperial Government, had an interview first with the Secretary of State on April 12, and then with the President on April 15. On both occasions, the Ambassador, after dwelling upon the traditional friendship between Japan and the United States, explained how very sincere the Imperial Government had always been in their desire to maintain and strengthen the friendly relations of the two countries, and as illustrative of the sentiments of good accord and good neighborhood, he pointed out such instances as the voluntary restriction of emigration of Japanese to the United States, as well as their prompt acceptance of the invitation to participate in the San Francisco Fair and the like. The Ambassador then stated that the number of Japanese and their activities in California were greatly exaggerated by the public, and he declared that the acreage of the land owned by them was too small to justify any apprehension or uneasiness on the part of the people of California, and in these circumstances, the Imperial Government could not, he said, understand why the lawful rights of Japanese must be curtailed or abridged by such unjust and extraordinary enactments, and he added, that such discrimination was likely to bring deplorable consequences to the relations of friendship as well as to the commercial intercourse between Japan and the United States, and that for the sake of the honor and dignity of the country, if for no other reason, the Imperial Government could not remain indifferent to such unfair treatment of their people. The Ambassador then asked the President and the Secretary of State that greater efforts be made by the Federal Government to prevent the passage of the measure in question.

To this, both the President and the Secretary of State responded that they fully appreciated the wish of the Japanese Government, and they took particular pains in explaining that the power to grant land ownership rested entirely with the Authorities of the State, and the exceptional circumstance, they added, that the Federal Administration and the State authorities of California happen to belong to different political parties, made the situation all the more difficult to deal with. Both officers further assured the Ambassador that the representations made by him would be given most sympathetic consideration, and the best efforts of the United States Government be made with a view to bring about an amicable settlement of the question and they asked him to bring this attitude on their part to the notice of his Government so that it might be thoroughly understood by them.

On April 18, the President caused the Secretary of State to send a telegram to the Governor of California, advising him that while the President was not in the least inclined to disregard the independence of the legislative power of the State of California, he was anxious that no attempt should be made, having in view the good relations with a friendly Oriental Power, to use the formula of eligibility to citizenship for the purpose of drawing a distinction between aliens in the matter of the enjoyment of rights. More telegrams followed this, from the President on April 22, and May 1, and from the Secretary of State on May 11, to the Governor who, in response to these messages, explained his position. Meanwhile, Viscount Chinda had several interviews with the Secretary of State and endeavored to cause the contention of the Imperial Government to be fully appreciated by the United States Government. He repeatedly explained that the bill then pending was evidently aimed at the exclusion of Japanese people and was, consequently, in disregard of the letter and spirit of the Treaty, and he urged that no matter what the wording of the Act might be, any law, which would in effect be discriminatory and therefore offensive to Japanese, ought not, in good neighborhood, to be enacted.

Unfortunately, the State Legislature took no heed of the advice given by the Federal Government and consequently the situation became still more grave. The President, then, saw the necessity of direct consultation with the authorities of the State in the matter and sent, with the consent of the Governor and the Legislature, the Secretary of State to California. Mr. Bryan reached the State capital on April 28 and appeared in the joint sessions of the two houses of the Legislature, in order to explain personally the request of the Federal Government. The Secretary made various suggestions and tried his best to make the terms of the bill less objectionable. But the Governor and the members of the Legislature who supported him, remained unmoved by what the Secretary said, strictly adhering to the principle that the rights of the State must not be interfered with, and the Webb bill, which is so marked in its anti-Japanese features, at last passed the Legislature.

Now that the bill had become law, and no room left for remonstrance, the Imperial Government had no other recourse except to lodge with the United States Government a formal protest against the measure. They accordingly instructed their Ambassador in Washington to hand to the Secretary of State, on May 10, their first formal note of protest. The note pointed out, with particular emphasis, that the Act in question was not only essentially unfair and discriminatory, but was inconsistent with the treaty provisions and was also opposed to the spirit and fundamental principles of amity and good understanding, upon which the conventional relations of the two countries depended. Then again, it was specifically argued that the enactment in question, was unjust and contrary to the treaty provisions, not only in depriving Japanese of the right to transmit to their legal heirs their already lawfully acquired landed property, but in several other respects. In conclusion the hope was expressed that, in view of the sympathetic and accommodating disposition, with which the American Administration had always befriended the Japanese Government, the present difficulties would be set at rest in a manner worthy of the historic relations of cordial friendship between the two neighboring nations.

On May 11, the Secretary of State sent, by order of the President, a telegram to the Governor of California, in which, apprising the latter of the receipt of a protest from the Japanese Government, he said that the President was fully alive to the importance of removing the root of discord between American citizens and subjects of an Oriental nation residing in the country, but that he was impelled by a sense of duty to express the hope that the Governor would see fit to allow time for diplomatic effort to discover and correct any evils that might exist in connection with landownership by aliens. This effort on the part of the President to induce the Governor to reconsider the matter and to refrain from signing the bill was without avail. The Governor telegraphed back to the President on May 14, pointing out the necessity which called for the legislation in question, and expressed the belief that in enacting the measure the people of California had violated no treaty rights. He thus made it known that he was determined to approve the bill. The Governor signed the Act on the 19th. Upon receipt of the news that the bill had become law, the Secretary of State handed to Ambassador Chinda a reply to the protest of the Japanese Government. It began by stating that the United States Government regretted that the Japanese Government should regard the legislation in question as an indication of unfriendliness towards their people and that the President and the Secretary of State had very earnestly attempted to induce the legislative authorities of California to reconsider the matter. Then the reply endeavored to explain that the enactment was without any political significance, but was solely the result of particular economic conditions existing in California. It was further pointed out, in response to the Japanese contention, that the declared intention of the law was to respect and preserve all rights under existing treaties, and that in case of failure to accomplish that intent, the aggrieved Japanese would have the right to resort to the federal courts for the enforcement of their rights. It was added, in conclusion, that the economic policy of a single state with regard to a single kind of property, could not turn aside the strong and abiding currents of generous and profitable intercourse and good understanding between the two nations.

No doubt it was because the United States Government appreciated the position of the Japanese Government and realized the serious international complications resulting from the conduct of the State of California, that they attempted to prevent, by some means, the passage of the bill while it was still under consideration in the California Legislature, and went at last even so far as to send the Secretary of State to California to accomplish that end. In view of this and also of what had passed between Ambassador Chinda and Secretary Bryan in their several interviews on the subject, it was considered but natural that the United States Government, which could not prevent the enactment of an unjust law, should now take some appropriate steps to nullify the measure. As above stated, however, the reply of the United States Government, while avoiding the maintenance of the issue that the Act in question was not in disregard of existing treaty rights, not only showed no disposition to test the validity of the enactment in the court but failed to offer any solution whatever of the problem.

Believing, as they did, that the Act in question was in violation of treaty provisions, and, therefore, that the duty of remedying the wrong rested with the United States Government, the Imperial Government could not possibly be satisfied with such a reply. Accordingly on June 4, they instructed their Ambassador in Washington to address to the Secretary of State the second note of protest, setting forth in fuller detail, the points which they believed to be in contravention of the existing treaty provisions. The Secretary of State, in receiving the note, reiterated the assurances that careful consideration would be given to the matter and that the enactment was not a culmination of racial prejudice, but an outcome of a purely economical question.

On the following day, Viscount Chinda had audience with the President and presented a memorandum in which the views of the Imperial Government on the general relations between Japan and the United States were frankly set forth, in the hope that this exposition might help to solve the difficulty. The memorandum stated in substance that as Japan and the United States were geographically destined to be permanent neighbors, the people of the two countries were inevitably in a position to be brought in the future, economically and socially, into closer contact with each other and that, as it would contribute to the mutual happiness of the two nations to perfect the relationship of good neighborhood by a policy of reciprocal conciliation and coöperation, each nation, aspiring to be fair and just, should not commit any acts which might hurt the dignity or injure the feelings of the other. The President, who listened to the reading of the memorandum, declared that he was fully alive to the importance of maintaining good relations between the two nations and explained at length, as did also the Secretary of State, that the enactment in question was based purely on economical considerations and was not the outcome of racial prejudice. He also added that if on further study, the law should be found to be in conflict with treaty provisions, the administration would be prepared to seek a judicial remedy and that, even in case a suit should not be instituted, means would be sought to compensate Japanese for any loss which they might have actually sustained.

In the meantime, the Imperial Government as the result of their further study of the provisions of the Land Act which were inconsistent with Treaty provisions, prepared an Aide-Mémoire. This, Ambassador Chinda presented to the United States Government on July 3, as supplement to his second note of protest above referred to.

On July 16, the Secretary of State handed to Ambassador Chinda the reply of the United States Government to the second note of the Imperial Government and the supplementary Aide-Mémoire. It was a very long one, and after giving in detail counter arguments on the points raised in our protests, three suggestions were given as a remedy in the case: (1) in case the aggrieved Japanese should bring suit in the United States Court, the American Government would stand ready at all times to use their good offices to secure prompt and efficacious determination; (2) the United States Government would stand ready to compensate Japanese for any loss which they might show to have been actually sustained on account of the statute, or (3) to purchase from them their lands at their full market value prior to enactment of the statute.

The attitude of the United States Government on the question, as has been evinced in this correspondence, was far from being satisfactory to the Imperial Government, and, therefore, they prepared their third note of protest which Ambassador Chinda handed to the Secretary of State on August 26 last. In this note the Imperial Government pointed out that the Act in question established a discrimination of a most marked and invidious character against Japan by depriving Japanese of the right of land ownership, while freely continuing the same right, not only in favor of the citizens of all the other powers with which the United States maintains reciprocal treaty relations, but in favor of many non-treaty aliens, and that whatever causes might have been responsible for the measure, it could not be denied that in its final manifestation it was clearly indicative of racial prejudice, nor could any justification for the Act be found in the simple assertion that the legislation was the outcome of economic conditions, and it was, moreover, pointed out that the question of immigration, which the Secretary of State referred to in his last note, had nothing whatever to do with the present controversy, as that question was satisfactorily adjusted between the two Governments a few years ago, and that the present controversy related exclusively to the question of the treatment of Japanese subjects who are lawfully in the United States or may hereafter lawfully become residents therein.

The correspondence as reviewed in the foregoing pages shows that the United States Government are not disposed to take issue whether the Act in question is in conflict with the existing treaty provisions or not. Nor are they ready to go beyond suggesting a few trivial remedies in the case. It appeared to the Imperial Government that a fundamental solution of the question could, in these circumstances, only be found in the conclusion of a new supplementary convention designed to cure the existing treaty. After careful study they decided to make a proposition along these lines and instructed Ambassador Chinda in August last to propose to the United States Government the conclusion of such a convention, draft of which was tentatively submitted by the Ambassador to the Secretary of State. Prolonged negotiations followed and finally the United States Government proposed an amendment to the Japanese draft which would in effect make the project foreign to the controversy which alone had given rise to it. Therefore, after mature deliberation the present Ministry reluctantly decided to withdraw the proposal and sent to Ambassador Chinda on the 9th instant the following telegraphic instructions, copy of which he left with the Secretary of State on the 10th.

BARON KATO TO VISCOUNT CHINDA.

Department of Foreign Affairs,
June 9, 1914.

Among the more important pending questions that confronted me when I assumed charge of this department, was the issue resulting from the enactment last year of the Legislature of California respecting alien real property ownership. The measure, as you are aware, undertook, in effect, to draw a distinction in the matter of such ownership between aliens belonging to different races. The avowed purpose of the law, was on the one hand, to annul the then existing right of ownership so far as Japanese subjects were concerned, and, on the other, to continue the right in favor of aliens of the white and black races.

I have given the subject my most serious consideration and am consequently well satisfied that the enactment in question, is not only in disregard of the letter and spirit of the existing treaty between Japan and the United States, but is essentially unfair and invidiously discriminatory against my countrymen, and inconsistent as well with the sentiments of amity and good neighborhood which have always presided over the relations between the two countries; nor can I escape the conviction that said enactment, which was intended to have international effect, is also in excess of the authority of the State of California, for the reason that the separate States of the United States are, internationally speaking, wholly unknown and entirely without responsibility. In any case, the Imperial Government are confident that the action complained of stands without historical parallel, and they are happy to believe that the legislation in question forms no part of the general policy of the Federal Government but is the outcome of unfortunate local conditions.

I, therefore, fully concur in the views which you, in pursuance of instructions from my predecessor presented to the Honorable the Secretary of State on the subject. I also cordially appreciate the motives which, in the interest of international conciliation and good will, induced Baron Makino to give favorable consideration to the idea of concluding a convention regarding the matter. But the project, as it stands at the present time, instead of composing existing misunderstandings, would I fear tend to create new difficulties.

Accordingly, you are instructed to inform Mr. Bryan that the Imperial Government are disinclined to continue the negotiations looking to the conclusion of a convention on the lines of the project which has been under discussion, but that they prefer to recur to the correspondence which was interrupted by the ineffective negotiations and that they will now look for an answer to the Note which you handed to Mr. Bryan on the 26th of August last, hoping that in a renewal of the study of the case, a fundamental solution of the question at issue may happily be found.

The negotiations looking to an adjustment of the matter in dispute by means of a convention having failed, the advantage of still withholding from the public the correspondence that has passed between the two Governments on the subject, is no longer apparent. You are, consequently, also instructed to announce to the Secretary of State that the Imperial Government desire to make public the correspondence in question, believing that fuller and more accurate information regarding the matter will contribute to the final settlement of the controversy.

You are authorized, in carrying out the above instructions, to hand a copy of this Note to Mr. Bryan.

Printed in the United States of America.